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EARLY VOYAGES AND TRAVELS

TO

RUSSIA AND PERSIA.

FIRST SERIES. NO. LXXIII-MDCCCLXXXVI

EARLY

VOYAGES AND TRAVELS

TO

RUSSIA AND PERSIA

BY

ANTHONY JENKINSON

AND OTHER ENGLISHMEN.

WITH

SOME ACCOUNT OF THE FIRST INTERCOURSE OF THE ENGLISH WITH RUSSIA AND CENTRAL ASIA BY WAY OF THE CASPIAN SEA.

Edited by

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RENEWAL OF PETITIONS BY JENKINSON AND SIR H. GILBERT RELATING TO DISCOVERY TOWARDS CATHAY.

[Anthony Ienkinson to Sir W. Cecil.[1]]

Pleaseth it your honour that wheras I did of long tyme sue to haue the passage discouered to Cataia, and as yet neuer had any direct answere of the same. Mr. Gilbert and I (hauinge sins sondry tymes discoursed therof, and nothing doubting the good successe) do meane (God willing) to make tryall of the same at our owne costes and charges, with the help of such as by our procurement shall assist vs in that behalf, yf it maye please her maiestie to prevelige vs for the terme of our lyves or the longer lyver of either of vs, accordinge to the articles hereafter following.

First, none to go to any parte of the worlde through the passage by vs, or by our order discouered, vppon payne of confiscation of bodye, goodes and landes, to vs and our vses, during our lyues or the longer lyuer of either of vs, according to the priuelege of all our discoueryes.

Secondlye, ourselues to trade costome free without any prescrybed some, and all such as are lynially discended of eyther of our houses from our fathers to be fre for euer, and to

[1] *S. P.*, Dom. Add. Eliz., xiii, 69. This letter, transcribed from the original at the S. P. Office, bears no date. In the calendar of this series, the year 1567 and month February are hypothetically assigned to it. The document bears internal evidence, however, of having been written early in 1566, before Jenkinson started on his third voyage to Russia. The allusion here to a conference between our traveller and Sir Humphrey Gilbert on the subject of a voyage of discovery to the North-East will be dealt with in Gilbert's petition and chapter 8 of his discourse. (See *infra*, pp. 180-182.)

trafficke their owne stockes, or to the som of five hondreth pownds stocke of any other mans without paing any costome.

Thirdly, that all they that shalbe fre of this viage shall, towards the recoueringe of ther fyrst charge, paye no manor of costome for any kind of marchandise that they do bringe from any place through this our discouered passage, duringe the space of twenty-one yers, Hir Maiestie allways to be answered the ordynary costome of all marchandise transported from any her Domynions.

And I haue conferred with Mr. Gilbert not only to sollicyt the same to your honor in bothe our behalfes, but also haue taken order for the furnishing of the same vyage in everye respect ageynst my retorne,[1] most humbly beseching your honor to further the same, beinge to the great honor and profit of the quenes Maiestie and our contrye without any charge to her highnes.

Endorsed: A. Ienkynson, for the passage into the Cathia, which shalbe discovered by him.

Humphrey Gilbert to the Queen.

[*Nov.* 1566.]

To the Quenes most excellent maiestie our dread souereign ladie, &c., &c.[2]

Pleaseth it your maiestie That whereas of longe tyme, there hath bin nothinge saide or done concerninge the discoueringe of a passage by the Northe,[3] to go to Cataia and all other the

[1] From his voyage to Russia, *infra*, p. 189.

[2] Brit. Mus., Birch MS. 4159, fol. 175.

[3] This petition serves to show that Gilbert was never wholly of one mind with Jenkinson; this is confirmed by the substitution of *north* for *north-east*, and by his final reversion to his original idea of a passage by the north-west, as set forth in the extract from his Discourse given below.—Cf. *Cal. S. P.*, Col. Series, Nos. 9 and 11.

vast partes of the worlde, Theise are moste humblie to beseche your maiestie that I maie haue the same preueledges accordinge to the articles followeinge, And I nothinge doubtinge the good successe, doe meane God willinge, to make tryall thereof, at myne owne costes and charges, with the helpe of my freindes and suche as by my procurement will assiste me in that behalf, hoping that your highnes will farther the same, Beinge to the greate honor and strength, both of your maiestie, and also your realme, withoute burdeninge of eyther, or Iniuringe any Christian prince, by crossinge any of them, in any theire trades or otherwyse, etc. etc.

1. Ffirst, none to go, or by any aduenture, or procurement, to furnyshe, or sett forthe any others, to passe to any parte of the worlde, through this vndiscouered passage, uppon paine of confyscation of the goodes (so aduentured) to my vse, with farther punyshment at your maiesties pleasure, Except suche as shalbe by me duringe my lyff made free thereof, And the same to extend to them and all the heires of theire bodies for euer.

2. Secondly, my selfe and my ii brothers, duringe the naturall lives of vs and all those that shall lyneally dyscend and succead any off vs, to aduenture in the same, for euer from tyme to tyme, at our pleasures, Annsweringe all customes accordinge to the rates now vsed and not otherwyse.

3. Thirdly, that I maie haue to my vse the vst. parte of the customes of the marchaundize restoured by meanes of this Discouerye.[1]

[1] In the same month (Nov. 1566) Thomas Champneys writes to the Queen and Sir Wm. Cecil from Naples on the subject of the discovery of Cathay, saying that he had heard of Jenkinson's travels, and of his having been obliged to turn back, but that he (Champneys) had met with a gentleman who had great experience in those countries, who was ready to undertake to travel for her Majesty, "and so to pratise with the great Cane himself that not onelie the contrie discovered bothe by sea and lande, and wich waie your navigation maie be brought thyther but also to conclude a traficque betwene the Cane and you wherbie your Maiestie shall haue the commoditie of all his contrie. ..."—*Cal. S. P.*, Dom. Eliz., vol. xli ; and Hatf. MS., C.P., No. 88.

Certaine reasons alledged for the proouing of a passage by the Northeast, before the Queenes Maiestie, and certaine Lordes of the Counsell, [by Master Anthonie Ienkinson,] with my seueral answeres[1] then vsed to the same.

Cap. 8.

BECAUSE you may vnderstand as well those things alleaged against mee, as what doth serue for my purpose, I haue here added the reasons of [M. Anthonie Ienkinson] a woorthie gentleman, and a great traueller, who conceiued a better hope of the passage to *Cataia* from vs, to be by the Northeast, then by the Northwest.

The Northwest passage assented vnto.

He first said[2] that hee thought not to the contrary, but that there was a passage by the Northwest, according to mine opiniō: but assured he was that there might be found a Nauigable passage by the Northeast from England, to goe to all the East parts of the world, which he endeuoured to procure three wayes.

The first reason.

The first was that he heard a Fisherman of Tartaria say in hunting the *Morce*,[3] that he sailed very farre towards the Southeast, finding no ende of the Sea: whereby he hoped a thorow passage to be that way.

The answer or resolution.

Whereunto I answered, that the Tartarians were a barbarous people, and vtterly ignorant in the Arte of Nauigation, not knowing the vse of the Sea Carde, Compasse or Starre, which

[1] The "certaine reasons and several answeres" are contained in "A discourse for a new passage to Cataia", written by Sir Humphrey Gilbert, and edited by Geo. Gascoigne, the poet, London, 1576. This was afterwards reprinted in *Hakluyt* (1589, pp. 606-7), with Jenkinson's name inserted in chap. 8 as above. But Jenkinson is referred to by name in chap. 2 of the original work as "a man of rare vertue, great travaile, and experience". [2] *Ante*, p. 163.

[3] *Morse*, Russian for walrus. These animals were formerly found in great numbers off the coasts of Spitzbergen and Scandinavia, whence they have now completely disappeared.

hee confessed true: and therefore they could not (said I) certainly know the Southeast from the Northeast, in a wide sea, and a place vnknowen from the sight of the land.

Or if he sailed any thing neere the shore, yet hee (being ignorant) might bee deceiued by the doubling of many points and capes, and by the trending of the land, albeit he kept continually alongst the shore.

And further, it might be that the poore Fisherman through simplicitie, thought that there was nothing that way but Sea, because he sawe no land: which proofe (vnder correction) giueth small assurance of a Nauigable Sea by the Northeast to goe rounde about the worlde, *For that he iudged by the eye onely*, seeing wee in this our cleare ayre doe account twentie miles a ken at Sea.

Visus nonnunquam fallitur in suo obiecto.

His second reason is, that there was an Vnicornes horne found vpon the coast of Tartaria, which could not come (sayd he) thither by any other meanes then with the tides, through some fret[1] in the Northeast of *Mare Glaciale*, there being no Vnicorne in any part of Asia, sauing in India and Cataia, which reason (in my simple iudgement) forceth as litle.

The second reason or allegation.

First it is doubtfull whether those barbarous Tartarians do know an Vnicornes horne, yea, or no; and if it were one, yet it is not credible that the Sea could haue driuen it so farre, beyng of such nature that it will not swimme.

The answer or resolution.

Also the tides running too & fro, would haue driuen it as farre backe with the ebbe, as it brought it forward with the floud.

There is also a beast called *Asinus Indicus* (whose horne most like it was) which hath but one horne like an Vnicorne[2] in his forehead, whereof there is great plentie in all the

[1] *Fret*, from the Latin *fretum*, a strait.

[2] An allusion to that fabulous animal which has been the subject of speculation in all parts of Asia, from the Arctic Seas to the Indian Ocean, and which now took the form of a wild ass, now of a deer or antelope, and now of the rhinoceros.

North parts thereunto adioyning, as in *Lappia, Noruegia, Finmarke &c.* as *Iacobus Zeiglerus*[1] writeth in his historie of *Scondia.*

And as *Albertus*[2] saieth, there is a fish which hath but one horne in his forehead like to an Vnicorne, and therefore it seemeth very doubtfull both from whence it came, and whether it were an Vnicornes head, yea, or no.

The third and last reason or assertion.

His third and last reason was, that there came a continuall streame or current, through *Mare Glaciale,* of such swiftnesse (as a *Colmax* told him) that if you cast anything therein, it would presently be carried out of sight towards the West.

The answer or resolution.

Whereunto I answered that there doth the like from *Mœotis Palus,* by *Pontus Euxinus, Sinus Bosphorus,* and along the coast of *Græcia* &c. As it is affirmed by *Contarenus,*[3] and diuers others that haue had experience of the same: and yet that Sea lieth not open to any maine Sea that way but is maintained by freshets as by *Tanais, Danubius* &c.

In like manner is this currant in *Mare Glaciale* increased and maintained by the *Dwina,* the riuer *Ob* &c.

Now as I haue here briefly recited the reasons alleaged, to prooue a passage to Cataia by the Northeast, with my seuerall answeres thereunto: so will I leaue it to your iudgement to hope or dispaire of either at your pleasure.[4]

[1] The title of Jacob Ziegler's work is *Quæ intus Continentur, Syria, Palestina, Arabia, Ægyptus, Schondia,* etc. Agentorati, 1532.

[2] Albertus Magnus, Bishop of Ratisbon, died in 1280; evidently a reference to his *De Animalibus,* lib. xxiv, 198. Venice, 1519.

[3] Contarini, the Venetian traveller of the fifteenth century.

[4] Gilbert wholly fails to meet Jenkinson's arguments in favour of a north-east passage as given in his petition (*ante,* pp. 159-66). Nevertheless, the north-west route became the more popular from the tendency it had to develop colonisation. The whole subject of early Cathayan enterprise is admirably reviewed by Dr. Asher in his introduction to *Henry Hudson the Navigator* (Hakl. Soc.).

Anthony Ienkinson, Instructions sent by the merchants aduenturers into Russia to the Emperor there.[1]

Mense Aprilis 1566.—The Societie of the merchaunts adventurers trading in Russia doe desier most humbly that Anthony Ienkynson may haue in commission from the quenes maiestie To the Emperor of Russia to the tenor ensewing.

1. Ffurste, that the sayd Anthony Ienkinson (hauing deliuered to the Emperor her graces letters) maye declare in her graces name according to th'effecte of the same letters, that her grace hath sent him to geve his highnis most harty thancks for the good affection his highnis bearethe towards her grace and her subiects and to desier his favor for the continuance of this amitie and mutuall traffycke.

2. Item, bicawse her maiestie dothe vnderstand that one Raphael Barberino an Italian (who is lately arriued in his dominions) hathe abused her maiestie, she thought yt appertayning to her honnor t'advertise his highnis thereof, to th'intente he shulde geve no creditt to the said Barbarino or any joynid with him in societie, but to be well ware of theire doings, ffor seing they haue taken suche boldnes as to vse a false suggestion to her roiall person and therby obteyne her letters of favor to his maiestie.[2] Her grace

[1] *State Papers*, For. Eliz. Also printed in Count Tolstoi's collection under No. 7.

[2] This Italian was the youngest son of Carl Barberino. His brother Ivan resided at Rome, and superintended the education of the sons of his elder brother, Anthony, of whom the firstborn, Maphæus, became Pope in 1623, under the title of Urban VIII. Barberino obtained, under the fraudulent pretence of the recovery of debts owing

dothe (not without cawse) suspecte they wyll in shorte tyme vse some further practyses, either to the dishonor of his maiestie and preiudyce of his subiects or to the subvertinge

to him in Russia, a letter of recommendation from Queen Elizabeth to the Tsar. In this, dated 23 June 1564, he is described as one who, "though an Italian, is dear to Us" (*S.P.*, For. Eliz., Royal letters Russia). Dr. Hamel (p. 172) thinks it probable that Barberino obtained this introduction through Lord Montague, who was sent with Dr. Wootton, the diplomatist, on a special mission to the Netherlands in 1564—the same Lord Montague who, in 1557, received the Russian ambassador, Osep Nepea, in London. Armed with these credentials, Barberino arrived in Mosco in the summer of 1564. He was received in audience by Ivan, dined with him at his palace, and received many marks of attention. Returning to Antwerp, where he usually resided, in the summer of 1565, Raphael writes to his brother Francis at Rome:—"Having obtained privileges and a safe conduct in the country of the Muscovites for me and my people, I hope that in future I may be enabled to benefit you. . . . . Not to lose the opportunity, therefore, I despatched on the 11th instant a vessel with 10,000 ducats in goods and ready money, which, please God, will go and return in safety." For the free passage of this vessel to Narva, he obtained leave from the King of Denmark, "at the instance of the Muscovite", as he writes in another letter, dated from Antwerp the 16th Oct. 1565. Barberino drew up for his friends a short account of Russia (*Relazione di Muscovia*). This is preserved in the Barberini palace at Rome, and was published in 1658. In contains some interesting particulars of the trade with Russia, and other matters relating to that country.

To overthrow the influence of this wily Italian, and restore the English merchants to favour, were the chief objects of Jenkinson's mission to Russia in 1566. On the 20th April of that year the Queen writes as follows to the Tsar:—"We understand that your Majesty holds our letters in such esteem that out of respect to their contents you grant more favours to subjects, and even to foreigners, out of courtesy to us than we ourselves ask for them. This happened last year, when we recommended to you a certain Italian named Raphael Barberino, not as a merchant, but as a traveller. But how this Italian has dared to abuse our recommendation of him in our letters, as well as your Majesty's goodness and other things which appertain to the intercourse between us and ours, our well-beloved servant Anthony Jenkinson will explain to you personally at greater length, but in our words, acquainting you with the resolution we have formed."—*Hamel* (p. 175); *ib.*, App. R.

of her subiects trade vnder his dominions. Whereof her grace wolde be righte 'sory, not only for the good wyll she bearythe to his highnis and her subiects trade but also for that his highnis shulde not impute thos straungers fawtes to the late recomendation made to his highnis from her grace.

3. Item, yf it be demaunded by th'emperor wherein the said Barbarino hathe abused her grace, that the said Anthony Ienkynson may annswer that the said Barbarino made suggestion to her maiestie that certen of his debters[1] were fleedd into Russia, and for the pursuite of those his debters desired her letters of comendacions to his highnis, wherevpon her grace, vppon earnest comendations made to her of the said Barbarino, and not thinking that he went thyther for traffycke or eny other cawse then aforesayd, was contentid to graunte him her favorable lettres agreinge to his suggestion; syns wiche tyme her grace hathe vnderstoode that the said Barbarino, vnder the coolor and faveur of her lettres of comendacions, hathe not only placed him self there in his highnis dominions contrary to his promis made to her highnis, but also hathe attempted to deface her subiects trade in thos dominions, affirming that he is able and will serve his highnis dominions with the naturall Inglyshe comodities better chepe then her owne subiects, which he nor no other stranger is able to do.

4. Item, that Anthony Ienkynson maye haue also in comyssion from her maiestie to saye to the said Emperor of Russia that for asmotche the Inglishe merchaunts her subiects haue founde owt and continued by those great charges the trade to his porte of St. Nichollas Bay, hit wold please his highnis to graunte that the Inglyshe marchaunts may haue the only traffycke and landing at that his porte of St. Nichollas bay, and that no other straungers may be admytted or lycencyd to land or trade that waye, as her grace is

[1] Incorrectly assumed by Tolstoi (p. xviii) to be Englishmen

advertysed that certen merchaunts straungers[1] will shortly attempte a viadge that way.

In Jenkinson's handwriting :—

"The true copy of the artykles, comytted vnto me by the quenes maiestie, to be declared in her graces name to th'Emperour off Russia.

"By me, ANTHONY IENKYNSON."

ANTHONY IENKINSON TO SIR W. CECIL.[2]

[*June* 26, 1566.]

RIGHT HONORABLE, may yt please you to be aduertysed, that the eleventh of this present I arryved at St. Nicolas in Russia with all our shypps in savetye, God be praysed, meening fourthwith to take my iourney toward the cyttye of Musko where at this present the Emperor his Maiestie ys resydent, dystant from hens twelve hundred mylles; & Although I am but newly arryved, havinge as yett butt small matter of importance, yett consyderinge your honnors goodnes alweys toward me, and how good master I have founde you, I am so bolde to trouble your honnor with these few words, and to lett you vnderstande such newes as I haue learned here since my arrivall, accordinge to my bounden dewty.

The King of Poole hath sent his Embassador[3] now lately

[1] Referring to the Dutch, who began to trade to the White Sea shortly after the English had opened intercourse with Russia. The Muscovy Company were fearful of losing the monopoly they had enjoyed.

[2] *State Papers*, For. Eliz.

[3] It was on the occasion of this embassy of Sigismond that Ivan assembled a council of all estates of his Empire, and submitted to them the proposals for a peace with Poland. The points upon which they could not agree were the restitution of Riga and Venden in Livonia. The assembly broke up, and the ambassadors of the King were dismissed with the answer that the Tsar would treat further by his ambassadors; hostilities being for the time suspended.—*Karamsin*, ix, 141.

vnto this prynce to intreate peace, which is lyke to be concluded, havinge had mortall warres togyther these six yeres, and ar agreed of dyvers articles, and in talke for one that is, that his prynce should render vnto the sayd King of Poole a great towne in Letto called Pollotskye which the Moscovians beseged in May three yeres past.[1] Also this wyntar the Emperour meanyth to besedge Revell in Lyefland, being vnder the gouvernment of the Kynge of Swethen,[2] which wyll breake league betwyxt the said Swethen and hym. Vallargia[3] also, a countrey adyoyninge to the *Mare Euxinum* of the Greeks lawe and subiecte to the Turke, hath rebelled of late and slayne the bassha their gouvernor with many other Turks; also the Crystyan bondemen in Constantinople dyd of late conspyre and practyze to haue burnt the cyttye, but beinge betrayed by a Crystian renegat they wer putt from ther porpose, and a great nombre cruelly putt to death upon stakes.[4]

Further, this Emperor of Moscovia hath used lately great cruelty towards his nobyllyte and gentlemen by puttynge to death, whyppynge, and banyshynge, above four hundred with confyscatyon of Lands and goods for small offence, and specyally toward four of theym, viz., one wurryed with beares, of another he cutt of his nose, hys tonge, hys eares, and hys lyppes, the thyrde was sett upon a pole, and the fourth he commanded to be knocked in the head, and putt vnder the yse in the Ryvar.[5] His Maiestie is now buyldinge of a castell

[1] Ivan took Polotsk after a fortnight's siege in 1563, *i.e.*, three years before the date of Jenkinson's letter.

[2] On the fall of the Livonian order of Teutonic Knights, Revel, with the whole of Esthonia, submitted to Eric XVI, King of Sweden.

[3] Wallachia, one of the Danubian principalities.

[4] This incident is not mentioned by either Knolles or Hammer Purgstall.

[5] This last act of cruelty is also noted by Edward Webbe, then a boy of twelve, who accompanied Jenkinson upon this his third voyage as personal attendant. Webbe's subsequent adventures in Russia and elsewhere are recorded in a curious and now rare volume, from which the following is an extract :—"I also noted that if any Noble-

which wylbe fowre square and two thousand four hundred fathom in compas. A fort most stronge and sumptuous, havinge dayly in number above ten thousand men. The stones for the sayd buyldynge ar fetched five hundred mylles and cost the caryage of a hundreth weyght xii^{d}.[1]

Other newes I haue not at this present, besechynge your honnor to stande my good master in my absence as I haue alweys founde in presence and in the sute commenced by Mr. Iylbert and me, for the dyscouery of Cathay, that yf our request be graunted and the sayd Mr. Iylbert mynded to procede in the same in my absence, that yt wyll please your honnor that I may be joyned in with hym, accordynge to our fyrste motyon;[2] yt may please you, I haue sent you by Wm. Aborough,[3] Master of one of the Companyes shipps, a straunge beast called a Loysche,[4] and bred in the countrey of Cazan in Tartaria. Trustynge your honnor wyll accept my good wyll, besechynge God to prosper your honnor with long lyff and good successe in all your affayres, to the comfort and benefytt of the wholle Realme. From Colmogour a cyttye in Russia this xxvith of Iune 1566.

Your honnors to commaunde during lyff,

A. Ienkynson.

Endorsed: To the righte honnorable William Cecyll,

man do offend the Emperor of Russia.....there is a great hole made in the Ise ouer some great Riuer, and there the partie principal is put in, and after him his wife, his children and all other his kinsfolkes."—*Webbe his Travailes*, 1590, p. 1.

[1] The new palace had the appearance of an impregnable fortress. Nevertheless the Tsar did not consider himself secure there. Taking an aversion to Mosco as a residence, he fixed his ordinary abode in the suburb of Alexandrofsky.—*Karamsin*, ix, 106.

[2] Alluded to in his first letter to Cecil (*ante*, p. 176).

[3] William Burrough, or Borough. This family took its name from their estate of *Borough*, in the parish of Northam, Devonshire.

[4] *Loysche*, probably the same word as *Loss*, the Russian for *elk*. This animal is numerous in the northern governments of Russia at the present day.

A MAP
to illustrate the
JOURNEY OF
SOUTHAM & SPARKE
in 1566
Russian Versts
50
100
200
WHITE SEA
Gulf of Onega
Onega Bay
R. Onega
L. Onega
L. Vodlo
L. Lachozero
L. Voje-ozero or Charonda
L. Bjalo-osero
L. Kubinskoje
Vologda
R. Sheksna
R. Volga
Ljubim
Kargopol
Christ. Horn
Vassiano
Swice (Svir R.)
Salo Selma
Oreiche
Telleland
Lake Segozero
Tolvuia
Carratch
Parenda
Vaigatz
Kan
Colmogro
St. Michael Monastery (Archangel)
St. Nicholas Monastery
Onega R.
Dwina R.
Padlo R.
Kargopol R.
Lachozero R.
Kenga R.
Vodla R.
Sheksna R.
Mologa R.
Volga R.
LADISKAIE
(LAKE LADOGA)
Viborg
Petrosadoisk
Belucoare (Semaks)
Ardit R.
GULF OF FINLAND
St. Nicholas Medued
(St. PETERSBURG)
Old Ladoga
Gosnapolie
Moislaue
Grussino
Petro Suetoe
Nouogrod
Lake Peipus
R. Murzey
R. Jagla
R. Mata
L. Ilmen
Volkusche R.
Langitude East 34° from Greenwich
Edwd Weller lith.

Knighte, Secretary to the Quenes Maiestie, Master of the wards[1] and one of Her Hyghnis Privye Counsell. At the courte.

A very briefe remembrance of a voyage made by M. Anthony Ienkinson, from London to Moscovia, sent from the Queenes Maiestie to the Emperour, in the yeere 1566.[2]

The fourth day of May in the yeere aforesaid, I imbarked myselfe at Grauesend in the good ship called the Harry of London, and hauing had a prosperous voyage arriued at the bay of S. Nicholas in Russia the tenth day of July[3] following, and immediately I sent in post to the Emperour to aduertise of my comming, and trauelling then thorow the country. I with my company came to the Mosco, where the Emperor kept his court, the 23. of August, and forthwith gaue the Secretarie to vnderstand of my arriuall, who aduertised the Emperors Maiesty of it; and the first day of September, being a solemne feast among the Russes, I came before the Emperours Maiesty, sitting in his seat of honour, and hauing kissed his hand, & done the Queenes Maiesties commendations, & deliuered her Graces letters and present, he bade me to dinner, which I accepted, and had much honor done vnto me both then & all the time of my abode in Russia.

[1] *I.e.*, Warden of the Cinque Ports, an office held in the present day by Her Majesty's Secretary for Foreign Affairs.

[2] *Hakluyt*, 1589, p. 397.

[3] Evidently an error for June.—*Cf.* p. 186.

The way discouered by water by vs Thomas Southam,

and Iohn Sparke, from the towne of Colmogro, vnto the citie of Nouogrode in Russia, conteining many particulers of the way, and distance of miles as hereafter foloweth. Anno 1566.[1]

We departed from *Colmogro*[2] about 10. of the clocke afore noone[3] in a Lodia or Barke, which we hired to bring vs along the coast to a place called *Soroka*,[4] & in the said barke we hired 6 mariners and a boy to conduct vs to the place before rehearsed.

The Lodia or barke was of the burden of 25. tunnes or thereabout, wherewith wee valed[5] downe the riuer of *Dwina*, the wind being then calme, vnto a monasterie called *S. Michael*,[6] where we were constrained to anker, because of a contrary wind which there met vs.

A verst is but 3 quarters of an English mile.

From *Colmogro* to this monasterie are 50 versts or miles[7] of Russia, at which place we taried till the 21. day in the morning, and then hauing the wind somewhat faire, we set saile and departed thence.

[1] *Hakluyt*, 1589, p. 390.

[2] *Colmogro* (Kholmogori), *ante* p. 23. [3] July 20th.

[4] See below. [5] *I.e.*, dropped down, *ante* p. 121.

[6] The monastery of St. Michael was built in the twelfth century by Ivan, Archbishop of Novgorod. Its destruction by the Norsemen in 1419 is recorded in the *Dwina MS.* In 1584, the Voievodes, Naschokin and Volokhof, built a wooden town round the monastery, and this, at first known as New Kholmogori, afterwards became the city of Archangel. The tercentenary of the foundation of Archangel was celebrated last year (1884). In 1637 the town and monastery were destroyed by fire, and the monastery was afterwards rebuilt on its present site, in a quarter of the city known as *Niacheri.—Semeonof.*

[7] Throughout the narrative Southam, as a rule, uses the word *miles* to express Russian *versts*, each of which must be reckoned at two-thirds of an English mile.

21.[1] We departed from the monasterie of *S. Michael*, hauing the wind somewhat faire, and arriued at *Rose Island*,[2] over and against the monasterie of *S. Nicholas*,[3] the 22. day at 2. of the clocke in the morning, which is 35 miles distant from the monasterie of *S. Michael*. By reason of contrary wind and tide we were constrained to tarie there all that day.

23. We departed from the monasterie of *S. Nicholas* at 7. of the clocke in the euening, and came to an anker at the beacons, and continued there vntil half an hower past 10. of the clocke, and then set from thence, the wind being South: our course was West vntil 5. of the clocke in the morning, when as we came to an anker against *Newnox* towne, where we continued vntil the 25. day.

The said towne of *Newnox*[4] is from the monasterie of *S. Nicholas* 35. miles.

At this towne of Newnox Richard Chanceler in his first voyage, with his company a shipboord, were releeued.

25. We departed from *Newnox* hauen at one of the clocke in the after noone, the wind at South and Southeast, and our course Northwest and by West.

The point of *Tolsticke*,[5] which is the headland before the

[1] Of July.

[2] Rose Island—so-called from the quantity of roses which there grew luxuriantly—was separated from the mainland, on which stood the monastery of St. Nicholas, by the narrow, southernmost mouth of the Dwina, called in old documents Malokurje. Here the English established themselves, and built their house; here the goods were taken out of the vessels on arriving from England, and then conveyed in boats and lighters up the Dwina to Kholmogori, and so on to Vologhda.—*Hamel*, p. 196; *Purchas*, iii, 744 (10).

[3] For a description of the monastery of St. Nicholas, see *Randolph's Embassy*, *infra*.

[4] *Newnox* (Nenoksa), 72 versts (48 miles) from Archangel (St. Michael) along the post road to Onega; 203 houses. It is mentioned in a MS. of the fourteenth century, and was known to the Novgorodians in the early part of the fifteenth century as a salt depot. The brine-pits of Nenoksa have continued in operation down to the present time, and its inhabitants carry the salt in their vessels to Archangel and other places on the coast.—*Semeonof*.

[5] *Tolstick*, a local term signifying steep bank or headland.

entrance of *Newnox* hauen, and the headland of *Seusemskie*,[1] lie next South east and by South, Northwest and by North. We came to an anker there this day at 4. of the clock in the afternoone, being from *Newnox* hauen 15. miles, where we continued in harbour til the 27. day of the moneth, by reason of contrary winds.

27. We departed from *Seusemskie* in the morning at 5. of the clocke, the wind next at East and by North, and our course Northwest and by West. The said land of *Seusemskie*[1] and the headland going into *Owna*[2] riuer lieth East and by South west and by North, and betweene them is 25 miles.

This day at Sunne set we came to an Island called *Sogisney*,[3] passing betwixt it and the maine, with the wind at South and by East, our course was West and by South, being 85. miles from *Owna* river.

Being past the said Island 10. miles, the wind came contrary, whereupon we returned to the Island of *Sogisney*, where we remained vntil the 29. day.

29. The 29. day we departed from *Sogisney* aforesaid, at 5. of the clocke in the afternoone, the wind at East northeast, & our course was Southwest & by west, passing by an Island called *Anger*,[4] being 30 miles from *Sogisney*, and

[1] *Seusemskie* (Suzma) 64° 42′ N., 39° 5′ E. The name of a headland and village on the coast near the mouth of a small river of the same name. Suzma is celebrated for its sea-bathing.

[2] *Owna* (Una), a small river falling into a bay, 64° 39′ N., 38° 12′ E.

[3] *Sogisney* (Joghjinsk on Fr. map; Jijghinsk on Ad. chart), an island at the entrance to the Gulf of Onega, two and a half miles from the shore. In its centre is a hill, on which a lighthouse has been built, in 65° 12′ N., 36° 51′ E. The only inhabitants are the people in charge of the lighthouse, but tradition is still preserved of this island having once been the haunt of the pirate Jojga.—*Semeonof.*

[4] *Anger* (Anzersk Island), the second in size of the Solovetzky group, and lying four versts to the east of the principal island. In a bight of this island, north of Cape Troitsky (Trinity), is a cave inhabited for many years by the monk Eleazer, a dissident of Solovetsky monastery. Nikon, the reformer and patriarch of the Russo-Greek church, was a monk of Anzersk, and a disciple of Eleazer.

keeping on our course, wee came by the headland of an Island called *Abdon*,[1] being from the Island of *Anger* 15. miles, where wee found many rockes: and if the great prouidence of God had not preserued vs, wee had there perished, being fallen amongst them in the night time, and our pilot none of the perfectest, which was contrary to his profession as we found it.

But whosoeuer will trauell that way must either keepe hard aboord the shore, for that there is a chanell which goeth along the coast within the rockes, or els giue the headland a birth of 6. miles at the least, and so goe a seaboord all: for there are ledges of rockes that lie fiue miles from the headland.

We gaue the headland a birth of 3. miles, notwithstanding there lay two rocks two miles to seaboord of vs, so that we were inclosed with them, and sate upon the highest of them: but it pleased God to make it calme, and giue vs the day also, or els we had miscaried.

30. We departed from the headland of the Island of *Abdon*, at 4. of the clocke in the morning, directing our course West, and at 10. of the clocke before noone, we arriued at a monasterie named *Soloffekay*,[2] which is 15 miles from *Abdon*.

At this monasterie we continued vntill the 31. day of this moneth. Wee had here deliuered vs by the chiefe monkes of the monasterie, their letter and house seale, and a seruaunt

[1] *Abdon*, a name now no longer found on any map or chart. Its identity with Muksalma seems to be fixed not only by its position in a S.W. course, midway between Anzersk Island and the monastery of Solovetsky, as required by the narrative, but also by the mention of "ledges of rockes that lie five miles from the headland", which is exactly their position S.E. from Muksalma, as defined by Imray's *Directions for the White Sea*, 1870, p. 34.—*Cf.* Eng. Ad. Charts, sec. 2, Nos. 2274 and 2276.

[2] *Soloffekay* (Solofki), a common term for the monastery of Solovetsky. This island monastery (*ante*, p. 19), founded by the Father Herman and Sabbatheus, a monk of the monastery of St. Cyril of Bielozero, has a world-wide reputation, and holds a high place in the orthodox Russo-Greek church. It had been in existence when Southam wrote, a little more than a century.—*Semeonof.*

of theirs to conduct vs safely through the dangerous riuer of *Owiga*.

The people of all those partes are wilde, and speake another kind of language, and are for the most part all tenants to the monasterie.[1] The effect of the letter was, that they should bee readie to helpe and assist vs in all dangerous places, and carie our boats and goods ouer land in places needful, as in deed they did, as hereafter shall appeare.

Note, that at our being at the monasterie, there was no Abbot for the place as then chosen: for 15. dayes before our arriuall there, the Abbot was sent for by the Emperour, and made Metropolitane of the realme, as he now is[2]: The number of monkes belonging to the monasterie are at the least 200.

31. Wee departed from the monasterie of *Soloffekay*, as is aforesayd, to a faire stone house[3] of theirs which is 5. miles from the monasterie, lying from it South and by West.

August. 1. We departed from the Stone house at 3. of the clocke in the morning: our course was West for 60. versts, and then passing betwixt diuers and sundry rocks, with many small Islands round about us for the space of 20. miles, keeping most commonly the same course still, wee then shaped a new course, and yet sundry times shifting, but we alwayes kept

[1] About the middle of the fifteenth century Solovetsky monastery received territorial grants on the mainland, comprising the districts of Suma and Kem, inhabited by Karelians—a Finnish tribe—the "wilde people" mentioned above. After his war with Sweden, a number of these Karelian captives were transferred by Ivan, and again in the seventeenth century by the Government, to Central Russia. To this day they form the chief population of Kem, and retain certain typical characteristics of their race, though they have become Russians in language and religion.—*Semeonof*.

[2] This Abbot's name was Philip. He remained only two years Metropolitan, being dragged from the steps of the altar of the Cathedral of the Assumption at Mosco by Ivan's myrmidons in 1568, and banished to Tver, where he ended his days.—*Karamsin*, ix, p. 131.

[3] The "stone house" was begun in 1552 by the abbot named in the previous note.

the Southwest, and neerest of all South southwest, vntill we came within two miles of the entrance of the riuer *Owiga*, where we were to beare in, West and by North.

From the river *Owiga*,[1] to the Islands and rocks before mentioned, are 20. miles. The riuer Owiga.

We arriued about 4. of the clocke in the after noone within the riuer of *Owiga*, at a place named *Soroka*,[2] at which place we forsooke our barke or Lodia, and continued there in making prouision for small boates to carie vs vp the riuer vntil the 3. day of the same.

3. We departed from *Soroka* at two of the clocke in the afternoone, with 3. boates and 12. men to rowe, and set the foresaid boates vp the riuer of *Owiga*, which we hired.

We went this day 7. miles to a place called *Ostroue*,[3] where we lay all night, but in the way, 4. miles from *Soroka* at a place where the water falleth from the rockes, as if it came steepe downe from a mountain, we were constrained to take out our goods and wares out of the said boats, and caused them to be carried a mile ouer land, & afterwards also had our boats in like sort caried or drawn ouer land by force of men which there dwelled, being tenants to the monasterie aforesaid. The fall of a riuer.

And when our boates were come to the place where our wares were laied, wee launched our boates and laded our wares againe, and went to the place before named, where wee continued and remained that night.

[1] *Owiga* (Vyg). This river falls into the Gulf of Onega, near Soroka, and is divided into upper and lower by a lake of the same name. It is only navigable by small boats, such as those mentioned in the text, owing to rapids, and at places it is altogether impassable. The scenery on the Vyg is very picturesque.—*Semeonof.*

[2] *Soroka* (Soroka), 64° 32′ N., 52° 27′ E., a village on the coast in the district of Kem. Here St. Sabbatheus, one of the founders of Solovetsky monastery, died ; the spot where he was buried, marked first by a chapel, and later by a church, is dedicated to the Trinity. In 1550 Soroka was given by Ivan to that monastery.

[3] *Ostroue* (Ostrof), merely signifies "island".

We departed from *Ostroue* in the morning before Sunne rising, rowing and setting vp the riuer 5. miles, where wee came to a place, whereas wee were againe constrained to take out our wares and to carie them and our boates three miles ouer land, so that with rowing, drawing and setting wee went this day 7. mile more, to a place called *Sloboday*,[1] where we lay all night.

5. We departed from *Sloboday* in the morning at Sunne rising, and at 6. of the clocke in the afternoone we came to a village called *Paranda*,[2] which is from *Sloboday* 30. miles, where wee remained all night.

6. We departed from *Paranda* at 6. of the clocke in the morning, and all that day, what with setting and drawing our boats, we went but 11. miles, for we twise vnladed our wares and drew our boats ouerland, in one place a mile & an halfe, in an other place as it were the eight part of a mile, and so we came to a place called *Voyets*,[3] were we taried all that night.

7. We departed from *Voyets* at 4. of the clocke in the morning, and so came to an *Ozora* or lake[4] called after the name of the riuer, and vnto a place called *Quequenich*,[5] we rowed all this day, and came thither by one of the clocke in the afternoone, which is 25. miles from *Voyets*, and there

[1] *Sloboday* (Sloboda), from the word *Svoboda*, signifying free, in the sense of outside a particular jurisdiction. Thus a suburb is "Sloboda"; in the present instance, perhaps, it refers to a settlement, independent of the monastery which, as we have seen, owned the land.

[2] *Paranda*, a village on the Vyg.

[3] *Voyets* (Voitsk), not far from the outflow of the Vyg, from the lake of the same name. The cataracts here are quite unnavigable. Voitsk will always be memorable in the annals of Russian mining as the place where gold was first discovered by the peasant Anton Tarassof, in 1837.—*Semeonof.*

[4] The rapids of Voitsk being impassable, boats ascend a right tributary of the Vyg to Lake Voitsk.

[5] *Quequenich* (Koikanitsa on Fr. map), a village on Lake Voitsk.

wee remained all night to hire men and boates to carie vs forward on our iourney.

Here departed backe from vs the seruant which wee had at the monasterie, being sent by the monkes to goe thus farre with vs. And after that he had hired the boats and taken the mens names that should conduct vs, and giuen them charge to deliuer vs with all things in safetie at a place being a litle towne called *Pouensa*, then hee departed from vs without taking any reward for his paines, for so he was charged and commanded by the monkes.

8. We departed from *Quequenich* at Sunne rising, and all that day rowed upon the lake amongst many Islands. The inhabitants doe there report that there are as many Islands in their lake as there are dayes in the yeere.[1] In the euening wee came to a village named *Tellekina*,[2] which is 60 miles from *Quequenich*.

A lake very ful of Islands.

9. We departed from *Tellekina* in the morning at 5. of the clocke and so entring into a riuer[3] we went that day 13. miles. In one place we caried our boates and goods ouer land 3. miles. At euening we came to a place called *Oreiche na maelay*,[4] where we lay all night.

10. We departed thence at 5. of the clocke in the morning, and so rowing, came to a place where ye riuer ended, being 20. miles distant from the place where we lay all night, at which place we forsooke our boates and vnladed our wares, and sent a man to the towne of *Pouensa*, which was seuen mile off, for horses to carie vs and our wares to the sayd place. The horses came, and we laded our goods, and at 6. of the clocke

[1] Though Lake Vyg is full of islands, only thirty-two are marked on the Fr. map, and but one, Korelsk, is inhabited.

[2] *Tellekina* (Telekina), a river flowing into lake Vygozero from the South.

[3] Probably the Yugu, uniting lakes Konshe and Matko.

[4] *Oreiche na maelay*, *i.e.*, Oreiche on the shallows, probably a settlement near the river.

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in the afternoone wee arriued at the towne of *Pouensa*, with all things in safetie.

The famous lake of Onega.

This town of *Pouensa*[1] standeth within one mile of the famous lake of *Ozera* or *Onega*, which is 320. miles long, and in some places 70. miles ouer. But where it is narowest, it is 25. miles ouer, being fed with many goodly riuers which fall into it. Hard aboord the shore within 6. miles you shall haue 40. & 45. fathoms of depth.[2]

Here it is to be noted that from this place of *Pouensa* vnto the village of *Soroka* downe those dangerous riuers which we came thorough, at no time of the yeere can or may any man carrie or transport any goods that come from *Nouogrode*, or the *Narue*, and such other places: for in the Sommer it is impossible to carie downe any wares by reason of the great

[1] *Pouensa* (Povenets), 62° 51′ N., 52° 29′ E., a district town of the Government of Olonets, at the head of Lake Onega. From an old grant of Tsar Vassili Ivanovitch Shuisky, dated 1603, Povenets appears to have been owned by the Viajitsky monastery in Novgorod as early as the reign of Ivan. In 1703 Peter the Great founded some iron-works here, and made the town independent of the monastery; yet, in spite of its advantageous position and the abundance of its iron ore, Povenets has made but little progress since that time.—*Semeonof.*

[2] Lake Onega, the second largest of the freshwater lakes of European Russia, is 220 versts (145 miles)—not 320 versts, as erroneously given in the text—long, and 75 versts (50 miles) wide in the broadest part from a little below Petrozavodsk to a bay north of the mouth of the Vodla. The depth and bottom of this lake have hardly been surveyed, though the former is said to exceed an average of 80 fathoms, and to attain 200 fathoms in places. Whether these figures are exaggerated or not, the fact of its being deeper than Lake Ladoga, and even than the White Sea, has been ascertained beyond doubt. A line drawn across this lake in its broadest part divides it into two parts, physically distinct. The southern and larger area is characterised by shores, but slightly indented, and an absence of islands; the northern has a deeply indented, rocky margin, a large number of islands and sunk rocks. Receiving a number of running streams, the waters of Lake Onega have an outlet to Lake Ladoga by the river Svir. The somewhat scanty population of the Olonets Government is mostly grouped round this lake.—*Semeonof.*

fals of water that doe descend from the rockes. Likewise in the Winter by reason of the great force and fall of waters, which make so terrible raises, that in those places it neuer freezeth, but all such wares as come frō *Nouogrode* to *Pouensa* are transported by land to a place called *Some* in the Winter, which *Some*[1] standeth on the Seaside, as doth *Soroka*. The ready way from *Pouensa* by land to this place of *Some*, with the distance of miles, I will shew hereafter.

12. We departed from *Pouensa* at 9. of the clocke in the morning, with 2. small boates which we hired to carie vs to a place called *Toluo*[2] vpon the Lake of *Onega*, being 50. miles from *Pouensa*, where we arriued the 13. day in the morning, where we bought a boate that caried vs and all our wares from thence to the citie of *Nouogrode*.

14. We departed from *Toluo* at 3. of the clocke in the afternoone, and at the euening arriued at a certain Island named *Salasalma*,[3] vpon the said lake, 7. miles from *Toluo*, and by reason of contrary windes we there taried vntil the 16. day of this moneth.

16. We departed from *Salasalma* at 8. of the clocke in the

[1] *Some* (Suma, Sumsky *posad*), 64° 16′ N., 53° 8′ E., a small settlement on the banks of a river of the same name, seven miles above its estuary in the White Sea, and owned by the monastery of Solovetsky (see p. 194, *note* 1). In 1590, 1592, and 1611, it successfully withstood the attacks of Swedes and Poles. In summer its inhabitants are chiefly engaged in transporting pilgrims to the monastery.—*Semeonof*.

[2] *Toluo* (Tolvuisky), on the west shore of Lake Onega, is remarkable as having been the place of exile of Martha Ivanovna, mother of Mikhail Feodorovitch, first Tsar of the Romanof dynasty, who rewarded its inhabitants by grants of land and other privileges for their services to his mother. Her *terem*, or rather the foundations upon which it was built, are surrounded by a fence. Tolvuisky was the birthplace of St. Zosimus, one of the founders of Solovetsky monastery, who lived in the first half of the fifteenth century.

[3] *Salasalma* (Salo-Salma), an uninhabited rocky island in Lake Onega, a favourite resort for fishing boats, 500 of which congregate here in autumn.

morning, and came to an Island the 17. day in the morning, named *Vorronia*,[1] where we continued by reason of contrary windes vntill the 21. day of the said moneth, and it is 60. miles from *Salasalma*.

S. Clement his monastery.

21. We departed from *Vorronia* Island two howers before day, and arriued at *S. Clements* monasterie,[2] at 2 of the clocke in the afternoone, being from *Vorronia* 48. miles.

22. We departed from *S. Clements* monasterie at the breake of the day, hauing a faire wind all along the lake: wee sailed without striking of sail vntil 2. howers within night, and then entred into a riuer called *Swire*,[3] at a monasterie called *Vosnessino Christo*,[4] 5. miles from the entrance of the riuer, where we taried all night. It is from *S. Clements* monasterie 160 miles: the streame of that riuer went with vs.

23. We departed from *Vosnessino Christo* before sunne rising, and valed[5] down the riuer sometime sailing, and sometime rowing, so that this day wee went 90. miles, and lay at night at a place called *Vassian*.[6]

Or Sermaxe.

24. We departed from *Vassian* at the breake of the day, and came to a place called *Selucaxe*,[7] where we lay all night, and is 10. miles from *Vassian*.

[1] *Vorronia* (Voroninsky), another of the islets which fringe this part of the coast.

[2] *St. Clements* (Klemetsky, on Fr. map Klementsky), a large island off the southern extremity of the remarkable promontory of *Za-onejie*. In the last century there were upwards of thirty hamlets on Klemetsky Island.

[3] *Swire* (Svir). This river flows from the southernmost extremity of Lake Onega to Lake Ladoga, with a course of 201 versts (134 miles), and forms part of a system of inland navigation known as *Mariinsky*.

[4] *Vosnessino Christo* (Voznesensk, *i.e.*, ascension), a hamlet at the outfall of the Svir from Lake Onega, remarkable for its wharves, at which a large number of barges and river craft are loaded and unloaded during the summer.

[5] Valed, see *ante*, p. 190.

[6] *Vassian* (Vajinsk), on the right bank of the Svir at its confluence with the Vajina, also extensively engaged in the transit traffic.

[7] *Selucaxe* (Sermaks), a hamlet at the confluence of the Svir and

25. We departed from *Selucaxe* at 4. of the clocke in the morning, and entred vpon the Lake of *Ladiskaie*,[1] the wind being calme all that day sauing 3. howers, and then it was with vs, so that we sailed and rowed that day 10. miles, along vpon the said lake, and entred into the riuer of *Volhuskie*,[2] which riuer hath his beginning 20. miles aboue *Nouogrode*, and runneth through the midst of the citie and so falleth into this lake, which is farre longer then the lake of *Onega* but it is not so broad[3]. This lake falleth into the sea that commeth from the *Sound:* where any vessell or boat, hauing a good pilot, may go through the *Sound* into England.

The riuer of *Volhuskie.*

The lake of Ladeskaie.

As soone as wee were entred into the riuer, wee came to a monasterie called *S. Nicholas Medued*,[4] where we lay all that night.

Oyati, well known for its wharves. Here vessels engage pilots to cross Lake Ladoga.

[1] *Ladiskaie* (Ladoga). From time immemorial Lake Ladoga has played a prominent part as a highway of commerce. By it the Ilmen Slavs communicated with the Varangians, and the Hanse towns traded with Novgorod. With the decline of Novgorod, and the discovery of the White Sea by the English, Ladoga lost much of its importance; but when Peter the Great established his capital on the Neva, it took a fresh start, especially after the construction of three great canal systems, which unite the Volga and the lakes and rivers of Northern Russia with the Baltic. The lake itself, however, owing to the canals which circumvent it, is of secondary importance, and the navigation on it is chiefly local. Of the sixty rivers which discharge into Lake Ladoga, the Svir and Volkhof are the largest.—*Semeonof.*

[2] *Volhuskie* (Volkhof). This river has its source in Lake Ilmen, five versts (three miles) above Novgorod, and enters Lake Ladoga after a course of 208 versts (139 miles), approximately from south to north. Its navigation is impeded by two rapids, with a fall of thirty-two feet in about twelve miles. In other parts the current is so sluggish that barges have to be towed even down stream.—*Semeonof.*

[3] Our author evidently trusts to hearsay; this lake is both longer and broader than Lake Onega (cf. *note*, p. 198).

[4] *St. Nicholas Medued*, or St. Nicholas the Bear, was a monastery on the left bank of the Volkhof, near its mouth. When Peter the Great inspected the neighbourhood in 1704, he closed the monastery, and selected it as the site of his new town, which he called New Ladoga, removing hither the inhabitants of Old Ladoga.

26. Wee departed from *S. Nicholas Medued,* at 5. of the clocke in the morning, rowing and drawing our boates all day, and came at night to another monastrie called *Gosnopolie,*[1] which is 30 miles from *S. Nicholas Medued,* where we lay all that night.

The monasterie of Gosnopoli.

27. We departed from *Gosnopolie* at 6. of the clocke in the morning; at euening came to a place called *Moislaue*[2] where we lay all night, being 46. miles from the monasterie of *Gosnopolie.*

28. We departed from *Moislaue,* and the said day at night came to a place called *Grussina,*[3] 35. miles from *Moislaue* where we lodged.

29. We departed from *Grussina* in the morning, & the same day at euening came to a place called *Petroe Suetoe,* where we lay all night, being 40. miles from Grussina.

30. We departed from *Petroe Suetoe*[4] in the morning, & at two of the clocke in the afternoone we arriued at the citie of *Nouogrod,* being twentie miles from *Petroe Suetoe.* Here we found William *Rowlie*[5] Agent to the company, who was there stayed with all his company, and was not licenced to

The citie of Nouogrod.

[1] *Gosnopolie* (Gostino poliye), 34 versts (22 miles) from New Ladoga, at the head of the Volkhof rapids. This place was known at the time of the Hanseatic league. Then goods were discharged at a village below the rapids, and reshipped above them on an open field, which, from its being the place of meeting of the foreign guests with the Novgorodian merchants, was known as *Gostinie pole, i.e.*, guests' field. Here, at the beginning of the eighteenth century, wharves were built, and here pilots and labourers are hired to pass the rapids. The monastery alluded to was dedicated to St. Nicholas the Miraculous, and has long since been closed.—*Semeonof.*

[2] *Moislaue* (Mouislovo), a village on the right bank of the Volkhof.

[3] *Grussina* (Grusino), a village on the Volkhof, here crossed by a ferry.

[4] *Petro Suetoe* (Petrovskoye), a village on the Volkhof. This place is mentioned in MSS. as early as 1499, when it was included in the *Votskaia piatina.*

[5] Afterwards chief agent of the Russia Company at Kholmogori and Mosco. Cf. *infra,* p. 215.

depart thence for the *Mosco*, by reason that the plague was then in the citie of *Nouogrod*.[1] Unto him we deliuered all the wares that we brought from *Colmogro*, for by the way we sold not a peny worth, the people of the countrey euery where be so miserable.

The right way to bring and transport wares from *Nouogrod* to *Rose island* into *S. Nicholas* bay, where our shippes yeerely lade, with the distance of miles from place to place, is as followeth.

20 Miles from *Nouogrod* to *Petroe Suetroe*.

40 Miles from thence to *Grusina*.

35 Miles from thence to *Moislaue*.

46 Miles from thence to the monasterie *Gosnopolie*.

15 Miles from thence to *Ladega* towne.

15 Miles from thence to *Selunax*, ouer the lake of *Ladega*, albeit there be many villages all along the lake.

180 Miles from *Ladega* towne vp the riuer of *Swire*, vnto the monasterie of *Vosnessino Christo*, albeit there are many villages vpon the riuer: for within euery fiue or sixe miles you shall haue villages or small townes.

160 Miles from *Vosnessino Christo* to *S. Clements* monastery, albeit there be many villages all along the lake of *Onega*.

48 Miles from thence to *Voronia*.

67 Miles from thence to *Toluo* towne: and there are diuers

[1] *Nouogrod* (Novgorod the Great), 58° 31′ N., 48° 57′ E. At the time of our travellers' visit it had already fallen from the pre-eminent position it once held among Russian cities. Ivan III dealt the first blow to its liberties in 1471, by transferring its chief boyards and citizens to Mosco. Ivan IV, in 1570, on the pretence that its citizens were in treaty to deliver it into the hands of the King of Poland, massacred thousands of the inhabitants, throwing their corpses into the Volkhof, which ran with blood. This terrible scene, enacted day after day, and followed by universal pillage, lasted six weeks. Novgorod was left desolate, and even now silence reigns in its deserted streets and squares. This happened only four years after the journey of Southam and Sparke, whose mention of the plague is confirmed by contemporary writers.—*Karamsin*, ix, 134, 187.

villages all along the lake where the carryers may lie, and haue meat for man and horse.

50 miles from thence to *Pouensa*, where *Onega* lake endeth.

The way from *Pouensa* to *Some* town is this:

30 Miles from *Pouensa* to *Mastellina*.[1]
10 Miles from thence to *Tellekina*.[2]
30 Miles from thence to *Toluich*.[3]
35 Miles from thence to *Carraich*.[4]
20 Miles from thence to *Varnich*.[5]
10 Miles from thence to *Ostrouo*.[6]
15 Miles from thence to *Lapina*.[7]
20 Miles from thence to *Some* itselfe.

Note that from the citie of *Nouogrod* vnto the towne of *Some* is 936 miles,[8] & from the towne of *Some*, vnto the monasterie of *S. Nicholas* or *Rose island*, ouer and against where our shippes do ride, is iust as many miles as is *Soroka* village from *S. Nicholas*, as the Russes do account it, as also we do iudge it, namely 325 miles. So that from *Nouogrod* to *S. Nicholas* road, is by our account 1261 miles or versts.

Trauell by sleds.

Furthermore it is to be noted that all such wares as shall be bought at *Nouogrod*, and are sent to *Some* towne, must be sent by sled way in the winter: for if any ware should be sent from *Nouogrod* by water in the spring of the yeere, after the yce is gone, then must the sayd wares remaine at

[1] *Mastellina*. Perhaps Maselga.—*Cf.* Russ. map.

[2] *Tellekina*, *ante*, p. 197.

[3] *Toluich*. Probably Talvish Navolok, a headland on Lake Vygozero.

[4] *Carraich*. Probably near Lake Karos.

[5] *Varnich* (Varnikh), on south shore of Lake Sumozero.

[6] *Ostrouo* (an island). Probably Sumostrov on the above lake.

[7] *Lapina* (Lapinska).—*Cf.* Russ. map.

[8] The distances, as given in the above Itinerary, make a total of 846 miles (versts) from Novgorod to Suma.

Pouensa towne all that summer, by reason that in the summer there is no way to go from *Pouensa* vnto *Some* towne.

At *Pouensa* there are many warehouses to be hyred, so that if there were as much goods as ten ships could cary away, you might haue warehouses to put it in: but if there should remaine much ware all the summer, to be caryed in the winter to *Some* towne, then horses are not easily to be gotten at that place to cary it thither: so that your wares once bought at *Nouogrod*, you must haue caryers there to cary it to the towne of *Some* by sleddes, whereof you may there haue 2000 if you will, by the report of the Russes.

2000 sleds belonging to one towne.

For from *Nouogrod* yeerely there go many sleddes in the winter to fetch salt from *Some*, with carryers and emptie sleddes there to buy it, and to bring it to *Nouogrod* to sell it in the market or otherwise.

From *Nouogrod* vnto *Some* towne you may haue a pood of wares carryed for eight pence or nine pence: but in any wise your wares must be sent from *Nouogrod* by the sixt of January, so that the wares may be at *Some* by Candlemas, or soone after: for if your wares should tary by the way vntill the 15 of February, when the sunne is of some power, then is it dangerous: for the heat of the sunne in the day causeth the deepe lakes of *Ladega*, and specially of *Onega*, to cleaue, and if there should come then a sudden thaw, as oftentimes in that time of the yeere doth, then doe these lakes open and breake, whereby many men are lost, and both men and horse drowned, although other riuers do remaine frozen a long time after.

A good *caueat* for seasonable trauell.

In the towne of *Some* also there are many warehouses, whereof we can not be destitute for the reposing of our wares, as also as many barks as you will to transport your wares from thence to *S. Nicholas* road, and that for three pence a poods caryage: so that from the citie of *Nouogrod* vnto *S. Nicholas* road you may haue wares caryed for two altines. The pood commeth vnto 23 altines the tunne.

Nouogrod within 180 miles of the Narve.

Prouided alwayes, that you buy your wares there your selfe, and send it thence: for there is no hope that the natiues will bring their wares from *Nouogrod* to *Some*, in hope to sell vnto us, considering the great trade that they haue of the Narue, which is within 180 miles off them.

Written by Thomas Sowtham
a seruant to the company.

[THE MERCHANT ADVENTURERS OF ENGLAND, ETC., TO THEIR AGENTS IN RUSSIA.]

The 18 *Aprill* 1567 *In London.*[1]

1. AFTER our hartie comendatione, we haue receaued your too Letters by our shippes retourned the last yeare and also the wares laden by you in our shippes well conditioned, sauing as herafter is expressed.

2. Item. We haue diuers tymes written into those partes that we should be yearly certefied of the waight, measure, and nombres of all such commodities as should be then solde and sent vs, and speciallie the content of every Corob,[2] what you packed therin, that straight waye vpon the vew of the numbers we might certainely knowe what weare packed in the same, with marking from the number one and so forward, that we haue not eny too parcells of wares marked with one number, and continew your nombres vpon all sortes of wares, which hitherto hath not bene obserued, and we thinck it good that you sealed substantially the Corrobye of ffurres and yarne, for vndoubghtedly hertofore the best furres hath bene taken out and in stead therof worse put in. The marrinars bring every yeare excellent ffurres, and none of ours to be compared

[1] MS. Cott. Nero B. xi, fol. 321.

[2] *Corob*, a package, case, or basket, bent or plaited. Lat. *corbis*, Eng. *corb*, Germ. *korb*, Fr. *corbeille*.

to none of theres, and many of ours of the wurst sorte, wherin we suspect not only the marinars but owre owne seruunts resiant the which haue had the custodie and handeling of our ffurres, and therfore loke with all circumspection that those wares be sent vs that we paye for, and trust our stipendaries and seruants no farther then you must of necessitie.

3. Item. Aduertise vs by your next what ffurres you packed in the Corobey with the beltis[1] sent in the *Swallow*, which was $\frac{1}{3}$ emptie; and we can not finde 15 timbres[2] of minckes, 7 goetskins, 2 Squirell pellches[3], a white beares skynne, wherof mention is made bothe in the book and lettres.

4. Item. Our shippes retourned the last yeare from *St. Nicholas* lacking $\frac{1}{3}$ of ther lading, which was much contrarie to our expectation, conseidering that you wrote for so many tonnes lading as those shippes being full laden coulde haue brought awaye, and also conseidering the great remainder ther of our goodes allreadie solde and imploid in Russia wares; you[4] and Mr. *Glovar* knewe well of our great debtes here, wherby you and he had more cause to vse dilligence to haue procured a greater retourne to pay our debtes with all. And examining your masters of ther want of lading they haue enfourmed vs that ther was no more wares at *St. Nicholas* except 3. or 4. packes fflaxe which weare not to be carried awaye, and whether this be true we desire to be enformed of you.

5. Item. We desire you to vse some dilligence and circumspection that our masters may stow the wares in the shippes to the most advantage.

6. Item. We haue found our selues hertofore agreued by sundry of our letters that our factors in those parts haue not sent home yearly the hole retourne of our goods sent from hence the yeare before, but kept continually a remainder in Russia of a great masse of wares, to our intollerable hinderaunce; which wares vndoubtedly

[1] Query pelts.

[2] *Timbre*, a legal quantity of small skins, 40 or 50 packed between two boards. Of some skins the number is 120.—*Webster*.

[3] *Pellches*, furred skins. Eng. *pilch* and *pelt*, Germ. *pelz*, Fr. *pelisse*, from Lat. *pellis*.

[4] Mr. Rowley, *ante*, p. 202.

might have ben well vttered considering the great plentie of wares ther[e] and at the *Narue*, and herof we haue complained most earnestly the last yeare as by our letter maye appeare. Wherunto *Thomas Glouar* hath andswered this last yeare for the xcuse that diuars commodities like vnto ours wear brought into Russia by other strangers, and that diuars of our commodities weare so base that the could not be vttered; with the which andswer we be not satisfied, because the vnvendable wares weare dispatched, and in place therof such others sent thether by vs as be most vendable ther[e], as appeareth by the sales of the 12. viage vnto Rubbles 23481 17*s.* 4*d.* as by th'accompt sent vs from thence apearith, we coulde nevar haue home in one viage so many Rubbles as we sent thether the same yeare pounds sterling in good wares.

7. Item. We like well that ther weare no more furres sent vs this yeare, seing they be so excessiue deare.

8. Item. Sope ashes are not here in such request that they will acquite the chardges to be sent, and therfore we wold haue no more sent at no hand, for we cannot make the principall at y^e^ price the cost.

9. Item. If you can sell the rounde pewtar for 2 Rubbles the pece, being ordinarie sortes, we are contented, but without your further advise we mind to send no more.

10. Item. If you make 12 dingots cleare of a poode of salt we se no cause whie you should so much mislike the sending of the same to *St. Nicholas*, seing our shippes which take in the same for lack of lading wheras otherwise the[y] must passe in ther ballest.

11. Item. We like well of the Cordag sent this yeare both for the size and workmanship, sauing that we wold haue a more proportion of Cables of 7. or 8. ynches, and we hope our Ropemakers will continue still ther well doeing till they haue brought our ropes in like credit with those of *Dansick*.

12. Item. We haue prouided thre Ropemakers which cam[e] in these shippes, that is to saye *Robart Wilson*, [*Robart Bland* and *John Bushell*] to serue there 4. yeares after £9 a yeare wages, wherof 4 markes is to be paid yearely heare to his assignes, and the resi-

diue to himself in Russia; and *Bland* to serue 6. yeares for £5 yerly during the first 3. yeares and £6 sterling during the later 3. yeares.[1]

13. Item. We desire that a perfect accompt may be kept of our Cordag[e] by such one of our seruuntes as shall haue charge of the stuff for cordage, viz. how much the hempe deliuered from tyme to tyme to every workman waieth, to whome by name the same is deliuered, and how much the yarne vntarred waieth when it is [received] againe of every workman; also the names and the numbre of all the workmen and bondmen, what daies the[y] worke, the[i]r wages, apparrell, meate and drinck and other chardges ther[e]to belonging, and this to be orderly kept from daye to daye. Finally such furthar order to be taken and obserued toutching that accompt and vsage of our chardges of cordage as by Master *Jenkinson* shalbe thought expedient, for we do vnderstand that th'accompt of our Cordage hath bene kept in such disorder that great losse and spoile hath bene made of our hempe and cordag[e] that we do not perceiv[e] whether we be gainers therby or not. Note for cordage.

14. Item. We desire that according as we haue w[r]itten hertofore that a iust waight of our Cordag[e] may be knowen, that is to saie what the wast[e] of our hempe is and also what the Cordage tarred ought to way. And therfore the hempe is to be waied there at the delivry, and the yarne mad[e] therof to be receaved ther[e] againe by waight before it be tarred; and this company accompt to be then charged by waight as white yearne as the manner of *Dansick* is, and the waight of the yarne vntarred being certified we shall iudge how our hemp wasteth from tyme to tyme. Note for cordage.

15. Item. Send vs a iust note and contrepoize of all the waightes and iust staunderd of all measures, we meane as well those of Russia as Persia and Media, that therby we may knowe how the same andswereth with ours; we had them heare but the[y] will not be founde.[2] Note for mesures & weyghts of Russia and Persia.

16. Item. Write vs your opinions by these shippes and more perfectly by Master *Jenckinson*, for what quantitie of wares maye be

[1] In estimating the corresponding value at the present day, multiply by six.—Arber's *English Garner*, iii, p. 18.

[2] See John Hussey.—*Hakl.*, p. 293.

vttered in the Emperors dominions, wher the places of traffick be, and what quantitie of wares may be vttered in euery place, the collers and sorts of cloth and what other wares be most in estimatione, and this to be donne from yeare to yeare. Item, of your opinion what wares are to be prouided for Persia and Media, and what commoditis be to be had from those contries, that vpon your advertisment of the state of bothe viages we may deliberat what further ordar to giue this next yeare for the furniture of bothe viages. *Arthure Edwardes*[1] writeth in his lettre that we may bestow a great substaunce viz. for 30 or 40 thousand poundes every yeare in Persia and Media, we doubt whether he meaneth for so much in vallue of our money or so much in waight in Silkes or Spices. Therfore more plaines should haue bene vsed in a point of such importaunce.

17. Item. We wold vnderstand how you sell the gold and silver and silver lace, and which sorte you like best, sending vs paternes with a note of the quantetie to be sent of eiche sorte ; the like do for your haberdasse ware which is most in request there, and whether we shall send any more spectacles and what sortes ; and in your accompt sent to vs, you vse this gennerall tearme, " solde in haberdasse weare so muche", and do not expresse the particulars or quantetie of eiche sort, which herafter must be amended.

18. Item. The price of Russe wares is here to be sold as followith: first, fflaxe 28 and 30 shillinges; Item, waxe the Ct. £3 13. 4. or £iiij the Ct. ; Tallowe the Ct. 18*s.*; Tanned hides the pece 3*s.* 4*d.*; loshe hides the pece 6*s.* 8*d.* ; Traine oyles the tonne £10 ; yarne the lb. 11*d.*; tarred ropes the Ct. 18*s.*; hempe the Ct. 12*s.*

19. Item. We desire to be aduartised whether the peace be concluded betwene the Emperour and the King of Poole[2], with what princes he is in warre or in amitie that be bordering vpon his dominion, what preparation of warres, what quiet in the contry, what notable thinges chaunsd in the country; wherby we maye discourse vpon the order or alteration of our trade and of such matters and other worthie the writing we maye be yearly certified.

[1] Arthur Edwards was associated with Richard Johnson and Alexander Kitchin in the third venture to Persia.—*Hakluyt*, 1599, i, 354.

[2] *Ante*, p. 186.

20. Item. Certifie vs of the proceding of our Poledauies men, wher the[y] work, how many lomes[1] be goeing, what quantitie one lome maketh in a yeare, what quantitie may be made ther[e]. We wolde haue as many lomes goeing as may be possible, for that the poldauies[2] is a goodly commoditie for this Realme, beware ther[e] be no fflaxe put in the Poldauies as it was in our Cables at the first beginning. We wold vnderstand how many slaues be sett to that worke, whether they be apt to that arte; if nead be we will sende more men from hence, but if slaues[3] there be docible it weare better to traine them vp (for diuars considerations) then haue many of our nation from hence except it be master of the work. And you must giue order that the masters do the[i]r goodwill and dilligence to traine vpp others in that arte and that a good order be taken for the accompt keping of the hempe, that it be not wasted as it hath ben in our Cordage accompt. Talk with the workmen touching these matters according to your discretion and certifie vs at lardge therof, with the hole state and chardges of poldauies making and also the Englishman's oppinion, whethar ther[e] maye be any good canvas mad[e] of that countrie fflaxe or hemp, and what quantitie a yeare. Omytted till ye comming of Hawtrie.

21. Item. We haue desired Master *Jenckinson* to trauaill[4] for a licence to make Iron in those dominions, if it be not allreadie obtained, and when it is obtained we do desire to knowe with speade what workmen with other furniture we must send from hence for making of Iron, alwaie to be remembred that the Iron be laden in our shippes from *St. Nicholas* and not from the *Narve*.

22. Item. By Master *Merickes* accompt, our late Agent here, there aperith a remainder of £3000; if the same goodes remaining be vendable, that they be sold ther[e] and the retourne therof to

[1] Looms.

[2] *Poldauies* (Poldways), a kind of coarse sacking, purchased for the dockyards in Elizabeth's time.—*Hist. of Agriculture and Prices in England* (Thorold Rogers), vol. iv, p. 557.

[3] Slaves were mostly captives taken in war. They were quite distinct from serfs first introduced by Boris Godunof in 1590. Slave-markets were held in Western Siberia as recently as the beginning of the present century.

[4] *Travaill* (Fr. *travailler*), to labour, to toil.

Note well this article.

be shipped hether; and if they be not vendable, these then to be retourned and sent hether so sone as may be according to ye particulers her[e]with sent.

23. Item. Forasmuch as vpon the retourne of these our shippes we make vp our hole accompt of all our aduentures for a diuidend to be made according to our statutes, which we haue nevar don since the first beginning of our aduentures, which was in anno 1552 [-3]; as also that we wold knowe certainely what wares, debtes, houses, and other goodes of ours *Thomas Glouar* levith behind him in Russia and Persia vnder your chardge or accompt; therfore our desire is that you certifie vs by thes shippes if it be possible, otherwise by Master *Jenckinson* or with the first messengar, what manner of wares, debts, botes, houshold stuff, landes and other goodes what soeuer he leavith with you, ouer and besides the wares and goodes to be sent vs from thence this yeare, with a particular declaracion wher[e] the same remaineth and what the vallue is as it is worth ther[e]; who be the debtors, as you will charg your self with all to andswer it vs. And in this declaration of yours to comprehend by hit [*sic*] self what is the vallwe of our goodes appointed for the Persia accompt, how much therof in Persia, how much in Russia; and the same to be vallwed after the Russe money, and vallue it as it is in the place wher the Persia wares do remaine at the tyme when you certifie vs; for so much as you confesse will we chardge you with all, and we shall see whether your accompt will agree with *Glovars*, for as we be aduartised from *Glouar* the truth we know not as yet. He had 2 yeares past but a remainder of Rubb: 2139 : 14 : 4, when we iudged bothe by our accomptes here and his owne lettres and accomptes to be at the least Rubb. 6907 : 2 : 14, we trust or [ere] it be longe to trye out the truth herof, for that we loke for him this yeare.

24. Item. That you cause a true Remainder of our wares and goodes in Russia to be made yerely in every of our houses, to be perfectly drawen out by such of our servantes as haue the charge therof, that such priuat accomptes of our servuntes and abstractes of remainders maye in all thinges agree with your gennerall book of accompt yerely to be sent vs; in which point we haue found great negligence and oversight that the bookes haue not bene confferred together but do much disagree.

25. Item. Hertofore the gennerall accomptes haue ben sent vs with such gennerall tearmes that causeth a suspition of priuat traffick of our Agent and servantes; therfore we require that in th'accompt yearly to be sent vs more plaines and more particular declaration may be made, viz. wher[e] and what the[y] haue remaining in redy money, what in wares (the kind), sortes of clothes, sortes of haberdasse ware, and vallwe to be deliuered in particular, what in debtes and the debtors names, wher[e] the[y] dwell to be expressed with the severall debtes.

26. Item. We wolde be certified yerly of the particulars of cariages of wares to and from, which we wold yerly see to th'intent we may iudge of the alteration of these charges which increase yerly and now do double the vallwe they weare at the first; wherat we much marvaill and ther[e] be Rub. 248 asked allowaunce in the last accompt for ordinary chardges, which seame to exced more then reason wold.

27. Item. We pray you vse all circumspection when you receue accomptes of our servuntes substituted for eny place, that you examine well the particulars, taking from them imediately vpon the accomptes such redy money and goodes as you find resting in ther handes vpon th'accompt, and also the billes of debtes made of our goodes. And if ye debtors be knowen to you you will speake with them or otherwise vse all the meanes to knowe if it be the[i]r debt. And good heede to be taken that our servants at the accompting do not deceaue you in making a greater remainder of goodes and debtes then ther[e] is in deade, that they do not faine debtes and remainders of goodes when in troth ther[e] is none such, for we thinck this waye will cut of[f] occasion of priuate traffick of our servuntes. And it wear good you chaunged some tymes our servuntes from the[i]r chardge vppon a soubdaine and required the[i]r accomptes often tymes. Note.

28. Item. We desire you to be circumspect that none of our servuntes or stipendaries do vse priuat traffick as we he[a]re saie they doe for furres and other wares in Russia and especiallie betwene Russia and Persia. And if you hauing forbiden them to do the same, they breake your commandement, shippe them home. It is tolde vs our money is giuen out ther[e] to interest for peculiar

gaine with other false packing diuars waies; the which you must mete withall herafter with diligence, severitie and vigilauncy better then we be able to prescribe, thincking that the priuat traffick is the onely hinderer of our affaires, which we leaue to your consideration.

29. Item. The charges of houskeping are double as much as they were wont to be, which causeth vs to iudge a riotousnes, remisnes and Idlenes of our servuntes; therfore we desire Master *Jenckinson* and you to make a frugall proportion of fare per man in every house and a commandement to be giuen not to exced; and that proportion to be kept with all severitie and vigilancy. And that order be giuen that our servuntes kepe a book of achates[1] in every house, and the same yearly to be sent home, and in your boke of acchates or any other vse no Russe tearmes vnles you put the significacon therof in Englishe afterward.

30. Item. We vnderstand that our servuntes and stipendaries haue accoustomed to giue wyne and meate to comers and goers to our houses, that the same maye be left by litle and litle; we knowe the manner of the contrie is not to welcom with wine except we haue brought vp this coruption, therfore if this typling be not left we will sende no more wyne, and we mervaill greatly ther is no more made yerly of our wynes.

31. Item. Certaine of our servuntes and stipendaries be suspected of horedom, Incontinency, dronckennes and Idellnes; if they do not amende ship them home, for where ether of these vices do raigne is no dilligence or faithfull dealling.

32. Item. It is notorious what excesse of apparrell and vtter countenance is vsed by our servuntes, the[y] ride and goe like lordes; therfore we desire you to reduce them to the vniformetie of apparrell herwith prescribed, and cause the same to be kept with all severitie; if it be against the manner of that countrie we will make it the manner rather then forbeare our money with losse to clothe them in velvets or Silkes or maintaine them to ride when we goe afoote. We will haue none of our prentises to ride in ye townes in any wise and therfore lett the horses and mares be solde. Also

Order to be taken by Master Jenkynson to weigh this article.

[1] O. Eng., *acates*, provisions purchased, victuals; from O. F. *acat*, buying, purchase.

reduce our stipendaries to a better order in apparrell, forbid them riding in the townes for diuars causes, such excessiunes corupteth all good natures, bringeth obloqui to our nation, causeth vs to allowe greate wages and finally owre purse must bear all in the end.[1]

33. Item. It is also notorious that our prentesis and stipendaries make superfluous buildinge at *Colmogro* and *Vologda*, rather for ostentation, fancy and pleasure then for necessitie, which causeth many comers and goers to our great hinderaunce and cost of our purse and affaires. Therfore no bylding or reparation (tiling excepted and for defence our wares) to be made before our principall agent in presence and vew of the place shall allow the same; for the manners of our servuntes and stipendaries may be such that we beinge bannished the country shall leave those houses to other straungers perchaunse our ennemies.

34. Item. We vnderstand that our servuntes kepe dogges, beares and other superfluous burdens; we desire you to vse your discretion for the banishment therof, as also that none of our stipendaries or seruuntes haue any bonde men or women attending vppon them other then such as you shall appoint for our workes or by your discretion shalbe assigned, for the seruice of such engendreth pride, contempt of you and vs in our seruuntes, corrupteth ther manners, agilitie and industrie, besides the greate charg[e] of the[i]r finding. Also that you kepe not aboue one Russe subiect in one house, for hertofore you haue kept many in one house, which is contrarie to our prviledg, wherunto giue you good heade as you will andswer to the contrarie.

35. Item. We desire you, Master *Rowlay*, in most earnest manner to haue continually in remembrance that we haue appointed you vpon a singular trust to be our chef Agent[2] in those forraine partes; you sustaine therby no small expectation of your well doeing and passing of our affaires; and you, considering the great charge to you committed, do not giue vs occasion and cause her-

[1] *Cf.* "note of one year's apparel for an apprentice in Russia", *infra.*

[2] William Rowley was chief agent of the Company from 1567 to 1571.—*Cf. ante*, p. 202.

after to saye, you haue deceaved or disapointed vs, for assure your self we will laye it to your chardge and lack of gouernment if you do not redresse and see to our seruuntes and stipendaries behauiour, amend the excessiue chardg of house keping, apparell, stopp the priuat occupiing, and amende such faultes and errors as be ther notorious.

36. Item. Our commandement is that our prentesis and stipendaries do take and esteme you as ther master, obey your commandement, and follow your direction and order with dwe obedience ; and he that will contrarie your commandement (if he be a prentise), giue him dwe correction, and if he be a stipendarie, shipp him home with aduartisement of his behauiour. We haue desired Master *Jenckinson* to declare by mouth from vs to such of our stipendaries and prentesis as he shall see, an exhortation to obedience towards you and fathfulnes with dilligence in our affaires.

37. Item. We thinck it good that you did vse one or two of our stipendaries to your assistans, whome you shall thinck most fittest, communicating to him or them the privitie and state of all our affaires, that if any casualltie should chaunce to you he might supply and succeed in your roume, now that *Hawtery*[1] comith home or goeith into Persia. We like well of *Atherton*;[2] you must haue the care of a naturall father to prouid for your succession, and if God vesite you with sicknes that you doubt your self, you ioyne one other at your choise with your successor, they both iointly to passe our affaires till you recouar or we giue furthar orders from hence ; and send vs worde by Master *Jenckinson* whome you thinck fittest to comitt the trust vnto.

Note for Persia.

38. Item. We doubt that *Alcockes* death proceaded not by asking paiment of our debtes (as *Edwardes* writeth) but that he

[1] Thomas Hawtrey was for some time the Company's agent at Vologda. He, with Jenkinson and others, signed the translation of the privileges obtained in 1567 (*infra*, p. 236). However, he appears afterwards to have carried on business in an illegal manner for himself.—*Hamel*, p. 135.

[2] Andrew Atherton, who succeeded Rowley as agent at Novgorod, was afterwards arrested for forwarding merchants' letters to England, and released at the instance of Randolph. (See *infra*.)

ether quarreled vnaduisedly in that straung[e] countrie or ells that he contraried the people touching ther[i] religion, lawes or manners; being giuen to our nation otherwise then wisdome wolde to mislike and mocke other straungers; wherof we wishe all our countrymen to be aduartised, we meane bothe those which be and shalbe resiant in Persia and Russia, in any wise not to vtter any misliking of the Religion or gouernement but to seame onely to followe the trade of merchandiz.

39. Item. That no stipendaries do take to his own vse or for his accquaintance any of our haberdasse or other ware, but that he paye forthwith for the same as it is solde there; and we vnderstand that somme of them buye our haberdasse and cloth at the price it cost here and bestow it in their own apparrell or gratifie ther frendes.

40. Item. These 2 yeares past we haue written that if any of our wares weare deliuered ether to our seruuntes for apparell or to straungers for giftes that the same should be particularly vallwed and put to accompt, of ... charges for seruuntes, or charges of giftes, making th'one accompt debtor, and th'other accompte of wares creditor for the same; but this hath not bene obserued, but such gennerall wordes and paragrafes vsed in the accomptes and lettres sent vs that the wonderfull wast[e] of our seruuntes was much shaddowed and hid.

41. Item. In like manner when you send any goodes for Persia, Media, or any other places, we wolde haue the same vallwed as the like goodes are sold in the place from whence the[y] be sent, and so much chardged in the Persia accompt.

42. Item. We sende you for *St. Nicholas* shipping for 800 tonnes ladinge at the least, according to *Thomas Glovars* aduise the last yeare sent by Master *Jenckinson*, and moreover sende you clothes and collored pennystones[1] for this viage. We send you the lesse wares this yeare consideringe our great remainder in that contry and the small retourne sent vs this last yeare, which hath not paid half our debtes here, which be at this daye about £20,000 [£120,000 *now*], which daylie encraise vpon vs for lack of retourne from thence.

[1] *Pennystones*, a kind of coarse woollen cloth in common use for linings. "Transpose thy plush to *pennystone*, and scarlet."—*Citye Match*, 1639, p. 5; Halliwell.

43. Item. We haue sent Master *Christopher Hoodston*[1] this yeare to the *Narve* (whome we thinck to be ariued ther by this tyme) about 200 clothes, 200 Carsaies, 7 shippes laden with salt and other wares to the vallwe of £11,000, and shippes to the burden of about 1300 tonnes ther to be laden and the wares solde and the hole retourne to be made this sommer if it be possible.

44. Item. If you send any goodes by the waye of the *Narve* of *St. Nicholas* accompt, you must not confound the same with the *Narve* accompt; and therfore diuars markes must be vsed that the one adventure maye be knowen from the other, for ther be but certaine persones of the companie which haue and do venture to the *Narve*.

45. Item. We trust you haue ben aduartised that th'accompt of every yeares viage is to be kept severally, that you and we may knowe of what viages the remainder of the goodes is.

Note for Persia.

46. Item. We mislike with *Ric. Johnson*[2] that he wolde not suffer *Arthure Edwardes* to be priuie to our accomptes in Persia, for our mindes be that our Agentes or Seruuntes beinge Englishmen should haue open accesse to the bookes of accompt and to be priuie to our reckoninges, both for th'avoiding of vntrwe dealinge as also they may learne experience. Therfore when you appoint more then one in a place giue order that all may be priuie to the reckoninges.

47. Item. We wrate the last yeare that a iournay should be made for the search of the passage by water betwene *St. Nicholas* and

[1] Christopher Hodson had been a clerk to Alderman Sir George Barnes. He came to Russia in 1555; was sent to Nijny Novgorod to sell cloth, and was afterwards employed in developing the trade with Narva (cf. *ante*, p. 109; *Hamel*, p. 125). His name appears with that of William Burrough at the foot of a letter sent to the Emperor, dated from Narva, 15th July 1570, announcing the capture of five Danish piratical ships by an English fleet of thirteen sail off the island of *Tuttee* (Tüter), in the Gulf of Finland.—*Hakl.*, 1589, p. 425.

[2] Richard Johnson sailed with Stephen Burrough to the coast of Nova Zembla early in 1556; he and his brother Robert accompanied Jenkinson to Bokhara in 1558-9; and subsequently, in 1565, Richard commanded in the third voyage to Persia.—*Ante*, p. 41; *Hakluyt*, 1599, pp. 283, 324, 354.

the *Narve*, and therfore we loke to haue perfect aduise and discription of the travaill which ware therto appointed, what departeth the riuars or waters, by which waye the[y] trench, how many myles by riuars, how many by ye lakes, how many by sea, how many by lande, how commodious the cariage by lande, how bigge boates may passe, with other circumstances ; and a perfect carde to be made if it may be of the iournay. Yf Salt and other commodities maye be carried betwene *St. Nicholas* and *Narve*, to or betwene *St. Nicholas* and *Novogrod* the great, it wolde doubtles in tyme serue our tourne to muche purpose.[1]

48. Item. That you certifie vs this yeare and so yearly herafter, which of our seruuntes you entend to leaue at every severall place, with the coppie of the[i]r comissions and what wares you will leaue with them ; and the wares to be speacified in the Comission Indented, subscribed with ther handes ; the last yeare you sent a coppie of the[i]r comissions but no advartisement what wares they had.

49. Item. We will that *Ralf Ruttar*[2] shall attend vppon Master *Jenckinson* for that he is fittest for an Interpretour, and Master *Jenckinson's* advise to be followed touching *Rotters* retourning into England.

50. Item. We mervaill that *Richard Johnson* was sent into Persia as chefe, being a man in our opinnions vnfitt for that chardge and nothing so fitt as another. He hath disclosed his vnabillitie in his owne letters (besides the reporte), which although they do desire no andser at our handes yet vppon consideration we thought it good to write him an andswer herewith inclosed ; which when you haue read it and perceaued some parte of our greffes, Seale it and cause it to be deliuered or sent him.

51. Item. You and *Thomas Glovar* gaue order the last yeare that *Arthure Edwardes* shoulde retourne out of Persia. We haue at this present a good opinnion of *Edwardes* and wishe he might be one to continwe in Persia, notwithstanding we committ this matter to your discretion.

[1] *Cf.* Southam and Sparke's journey, *ante*, pp. 190-206.

[2] Ralph Rutter was afterwards concerned with Glover, Bennett, Chappell, and others, in malpractices against the Company, and his extradition was demanded by Randolph, *infra*.

52. Item. Master *Jenckinson* by his greate experience putteth vs in good hope for a beniffitiall trade of Spices, drugges and silkes out of Persia[1]; so dothe *Arthur Edwardes* by his letter[2] and encourageth vs for the obtaininge of letters of priviledge at the Sophies handes. We send you a copie of his letter herewith inclosed which we desire you to consider. Our chef desire is to haue a greate trade for the said spices and drugges to serue this reallme, for that we haue vndertaken (at this late parliament tyme) to perfourme the same to the Quenes Maiestie and the nobillitie of this Realme. And therfore you must vse herin all dilligence, circumspection and trauaill which waye it may be sonest and best brought to passe, and giue such orders from tyme to tyme that we haue as small remainders in Persia and Media as is possible, and thinck when ther is great remainder left in wares or debtes then ther[e] is the more priuate occupinge.

Note for Persia. 53. Item. We wishe that continwaunce of frendship might be kept with the *Morsay* nowe kinge, by liklihood kinge of *Shirvan* or *Media*,[3] with som present convenient from the companie as a congratulation of his coming to ye Crown if he be chosen kinge.

Note for Persia. 54. Item. We vnderstand that the *Casbin* (wher the Sophies courte is) is but 3 daies iourney from the *Caspian* Sea, and that the Kinge of *Gulian*[4] bordereth vpon the said sea, his dominion beinge betwene the *Casbin* and the sea, almoste as neare to *Astracan* as *Shamochie* is. And we thinck it very good that the same kinge be practised withall for a trade &c. And for that we vnderstand he dothe exersise merchaundise himself (as the king of *Portingall* dothe), it weare best that treatie weare had with himself for a bargaine of Spices and drugges, and to trade with the merchauntes of his countrie for the commodities there.

Note for Persia. 55. Item. That the said king of *Gulian* and king of *Media* be practesed with all that they wyll builde fortes vpon the hauen or place wheare our bark shall lie at anckre that they may be salf from Rouars or pirates &c.

Note for Persia. 56. Item. It is to be liked that the shippes, sailes, ancres and

[1] *Cf. ante*, p. 149. [2] *Hakluyt*, 1599, i, 356.
[3] Referred to by Jenkinson, *cf. ante*, pp. 141, 147.
[4] Ghilan, *cf.* Alcock's letter, *infra*.

cables be brought a land in a salf place at *Nazanoe*[1] the porte in *Media* or other portes where they lande, which is to be donne allwaies for feare that other rovars or the countrie people do carry away our bark when we should neade it, which the[y] cannot do so easely if the vessell lack her fourniture.

57. Item. We can be well contented that our men take fraight on the *Caspian* Sea to the full lading of our bark.

58. Item. We be desirous to haue a Sea Carde made of the viage on the *Caspian* sea with a note in writing of the Courses, sondinges, markes, daungerous places, varrieinge of the compasse and latitude of places, quallitie of harbaroughes; and that you giue order that at every viage into Persia, you haue, sende or deliuar such remembraunces in writing at large bothe of the sailinge outwardes and homewardes; and that from yeare to yeare you send vs a coppie therof, for by comparation of diuars yeares and dyvars mens travaill, the viage shalbe by Godes grace be com of lesse daunger. Will *Johnson* (as we haue written to him) to make you a Carde of the *Caspian* sea and viage down the *Volga*, and also deliuer you in writing his obseruation and knowledge touchinge these pointes mentioned in this Artickle. Note for Persia.

59. Item. We thinck our selve[s] very ill dealt withall that we haue had no worthie aduartisement sent vs of the Persia affaires and trade there, and that the perfect accompt of our seruuntes and factors doeinges there be not sent vs.

60. Item. That you send vs yearly a perfect accompt of the Persia trade and particulars of all the chardges to and from in Persia, from tyme to tyme, and perfect advise of the state of that trade.

61. Item. *Arthure Edwardes* writeth that he aduised our Agentes in Russia what commodities of Russia be to be sent into Persia, that you will haue regarde therunto.[2]

62. Item. We thinck it not good that any of our carsais[3] be sold in Russia, for the last year the Russes carried packes of Carsaies Note for Persia.

[1] Probably Nossavoi, from *Noss*, Russian for headland. The port referred to is probably Shabran, *ante*, p. 131.

[2] *Cf.* Arthur Edwards' letters, *infra*.

[3] *Carsaies* (Kerseys), *ante*, p. 115.

(bought at the *Musco*) into Persia and therby hindered our Sales; and therfore lett none of them be solde herafter in Russia.

63. Item. Wheras *Arthure Edwardes* writeth that there be slaues to be bought at the *Caspian* which haue been at *Oromes*[1] (the staple of Spices) and speake the Portugal and Persia tounge, we thincke it good you gaue order some of theim be bought, by whome to [the] state of *Oromes* traide might be opened; and vpon there reporte to send some one or two of those slaues with some one or 2. of our men to *Oromes* or hard by, ther to practise for the trade of Spices and drugges to be brought to the *Casbin* from *Oromes* or *Callecut*, and we thinck that *Spark*[2] is a fitt man for that purpose for that he hath the Spanishe tounge.

64. Item. We send you a coppie of the act of parliament passed in the fauour of the Companie, touching our trade,[3] which we desire you to peruse. And if any obiection be made by the Emperour or his counsaill touching the restrainte of traffick to his countrie, that you enfourme them there be aboue 400. persons of this ffellowship; and that the statute was made vppon occasion that certaine Englishmen did make fraies and showid them selues disorderly at the *Narue* in bringing away the subiectes of Russia, wherby the ffellowshippes goodes might haue ben in daunger; and that now if any disorder be comitted within his dominions the Quenes Maiestie knowith where to laye the fault and to punishe the same; for she tenderith the good name and order of her subiectes as she dothe the quiet and amitie of that Emperour &c.; and this Societie is able to furnishe the Emperours dominions with all thinges as if the hole realme did trade thether.

Note. 65. Item. That the originall letters of priviledge graunted vnder the Emperours great seale be brought the next yeare to *St. Nicholas*, that if vppon conference with *Thomas Glouar* we shall thinck meate to haue them sent home they maye there be readie for that purpose, and that in the meane tyme so many exemplifi-

[1] *Oromes* (Ormuz), *ante*, p. 147.

[2] Companion of Southam in the journey to Novgorod, *ante*, p. 190. Spark perished with other Englishmen at the burning of Mosco by the Crim Tartars in 1571.—See *infra*.

[3] Printed in Hakluyt, 1589, pp. 394-397.

cations or vidimus to be made of this priviledge as Master *Jenckinson* and you shall seame good.

66. Item. We haue desired Master *Jenckinson* to confarre with you and ayde you as well touching such matters as we priuitly elarge to you, as other orders to be taken and concluded vpon with you, whose aduise we desire you to followe. And of such orders as he and you be agreed vpon (which be not here so plainely speacified), we desire you sende them vs by him or[ere] the next yeares shipping, subscribed with bothe your handes, that we maye knowe what order is left there. And if ther be any doubt of our meaning in these our lettres we refarre the exposition therof to Master *Jenckinson* who knowith our mindes in all thinges, willing you to giue credit to him and assist him in all things touching this comission, whome we authorise of himself to redresse such disorders as be ther to be amended. Note.

67. Item. We finde gret negligence in them that packed our fflaxe there, for in euery packs we found lacking ether one boundell or two of fflaxe ; and againe, if you send vs any two copies whether it be b[o]ok, envoice or ffacture,[1] they wounderfullie varie one from anothêr, which herafter must be amended, seing we lok for more exactnes at your handes.

68. Item. Such money as Master *Jenkinson* shall neede for the atchiving of our sutes and other affaires there, deliuer vnto him, and we shall accompt with him here at his retorn for the same.

69. Item. The beneuolence of the yong prince[2] is to be sought and contynued from tyme to tyme towards this fellowship by some small giftes or otherwise as you shall knowe most meetest.

70. Item. Yf any of our seruuntes, workmen or other, shall at any tyme, during thair abode there in the Emperour's dominions, deliuer to you any mony there by exchaung to ther ffrendes here, receaue the same and we will see yt paid here againe. We trust we shall finde these workmen of our countrie diligent and honest. Therfore vse them well during their abode there.

71. Item. By the first of our shipps or ells by Master *Jenkingson* fayll not to send vs a perfect aduertissement what shipping we shall

[1] *I.e.*, invoice.

[2] This "yong prince" was Ivan, eldest son of the Tzar, by whom he was killed in a paroxysm of rage in 1582.

send the next yeare not only to *St. Nicholas*, but also to the *Narue*. And at this present we wold both by credit and otherwise you shuld labour to send vs as much as you cold, for by meanes of our small retourn the last yeare we are come farre behind the hand and in debte.

72. Item. Yf a peace shuld be concluded betwene the two kinges of Sweaden and Denmark, it is to be feared that the trade of the *Narue* will in short tyme be translated to *Rye* [Riga] and *Reuell*, wherfore if you shall heare of any such rumor or liklihod sende of our seruuntes to *Nouogorode* the grett, *Plasco* and the townes of trade adioyning, to engrosse and buy vpp all, or as much as they can, of waxe, fflax, Tallowe &c. goods, comodities for these partes, to staye the Russes from *Rie* [Riga] and *Reuell*. And the goodes so prouided may be sent as in Master *Jenkinson's* Commission we haue enlarged, ether to the *Narue*, if that trade be open, downe the Ryuer *Onega*, if it be sound and sufficient, or at the lest to *St. Nicholas* by the Ryuer *Dwyna*. ffor our speciall entent is to preuent the Russes trade to *Rie* and *Reuell*, if it were possible the trade of ye *Nerue* being shutt vp from vs by any meanes.

73. Item. And for that we wolde gladlie be satisfied in the premises euen as if we were there ourselues, as we haue ben painfull in these our lettres to signifie our aduise at full, euen so we will that you, Master *Rowley*, do ether drawe out or cause to be drawen out, the cheffest notes and orders touching traffique and our seruuntes; and to sett them in Tables to be sett vpp in *Muscho*, *Vologdo* and *Colmogrode*, that euerie one may the better perceaue their duties and our myndes therby.

74. Item. The buffe hiedes the last yeare were verie euill chosen and bought, many of them being rotton, raskall and killed out of season. We sold those that were good for vj*s* viij*d* the pece, and so we are still offered for the like. We haue sent you certayn instructions howe to choose and order them, which we praye you to followe, and write we praye you where the said hide be prouided most and what charges arriseth therupon.

75. Item. There is a certayne kinde of wooll verie good in thoose partes for hattes and ffeltes. The Tartarians are accoustomed to make them clookes therof, that is much like the Estrich [Ostrich]

wooll; we praye you to send vs some therof for a prouffe. ffor we haue more perfect ffeltes made here in London at this present, than any are made in Spayne, and in grett quantitie also.

76. Item. Master *Rowley*, yt is determened by ye company that you shall geve order to lade *Thomas Waide* with 50/ or 60/ fates[1] tallowe, 25/ or 30/ Rowelles of waxe, x or xii Cabelles of sondeary sortes, none aboue 9 or ten inches, but vnder, the Rest in smalle hasers and other Rygeng Ropes; which shype wylbe ffytt ffor *Byskeye*,[2] and yf she take in x or xv packes of fflaxe or other lyght wares so yt may be vppermoste, yt may be taken out of hir at *Harwedge*[3] or in the downes, and she may go alonge with the Rest which shalbe at the Companyes pleasure at hyr aryvenge.

In lyke case they desyre another of them may be laden with a good quanttatie of waxe and tallowe, and the Reste to be cabelles, fflaxe, co Robies, and such lycke as may be taken owte as aforesaide; and the shipe to go alongest with the Rest, yf they seme good, for *Gallyssia*[4] or *Lyscheborne*.[5]

The which we make Rekenynge the *Hary*[6] to be metest for that perpose because she is our owne shipe, &c.

A thyrd shype they wolde haue layden with the lyke comodyties for waxe and tallowe for to be sent for *Roue*[7]; wher in may be for a profe a carobe of yarne, yf you haue bowght any store, and fyll hyr up with flaxe and hempe rather then faylle, for the flaxe hathe as good a vent ther[e] as here, and better all this last yeare; which may be the *Charrytie*,[8] Mr. Richard Gybes or Kinge. I do not for[e]se[e] whether of them.

In your other thre shippes you may lade your cabelles, some waxe, tallowe and flaxe and the Comodyties for London, with the trayne[9] which you most laid alone and you cane and nether tallowe nor waxe with yt, for yt Rayes[10] that marueloes yll, spesyally ye waxe. fflaxe may lye apone yt but nothing vnder yt &c.

William Garrard, Rowland Hayward, Govarnours.

[1] *Fate* (fat), a vat or vessel; formerly any tub or packing-case. —*Halliwell.* [2] Biscay. [3] Harwich. [4] In Spain. [5] Lisbon. [6] The *Harry*, cf. *ante*, p. 189. [7] Rouen. [8] The name of the third ship. [9] *I.e.*, train oil. [10] To defile (Halliwell); *i.e.*, taint.

Memorandum, to seeke and procure by all meanes to vs the money dew by the doctor and other artifficers at their daies, which was lent them by the Companie in London to be Repaid ageyne, as by the particular accompt which I hav[e] in my Corobia.

I meane money lent them besides that was gyvyn them.

THE NOTE AND STINTE[1] OF ONE YEARES APPARELL FOR AN APPRENTYSE IN RUSSIA OR PERSIA, &c.

ffirst, all our apprentises to be apparrelled in one sorte, sute, and coller [colour] and fasshion so near as may be.

The maner and price of the apparrell that we will our apprentises to weare ffor:—

2 vpper garmentes at 7½ arshins sorting Suffolk clothes of Rubb. 12 the clothe which will amounte vnto . . .	Rubb.	2 .	16 . 4
for making, buttons and stitching the same .	Rubb.	1 .	0 . 0
1 neether garment of 5½ arshins Hamshire carsaies of 4 Rubb. the carsaie amountes .	Rubb.	1 .	0 . 0
for furre for the same not aboue . .	Rubb.	1 .	0 . 0
for making buttons and stytching of the same	Rubb.	0 .	9 . 2
1 workday vpper garment of 7½ arshins cottin or streight without furre or stitching will amounte	Rubb.	1 .	7 . 0
for making and buttons of the same .	Rubb.	0 .	6 . 0
3 shirtes at 9 altins the pece amountes .	Rubb.	0 .	27 . 0
1 pelch of furre which will serue 3 or 4 yeares	Rubb.	1 .	0 . 0
3 pair Lynnyn breaches at 4 altins the pair	Rubb.	0 .	12 . 0
3 pair hose of cotton or streighte at 20 dingers and nott aboue will amounte vnto .	Rubb.	0 .	10 . 0
3 pair bootes at 8 altins the pair amountes .	Rubb.	0 .	24 . 0
The amending of this aparell yerlie will cost	Rubb.	0 .	8 . 0
1 Capp for holie dayes not aboue . .	Rubb.	0 .	18 . 0
1 Capp for worke dayes will cost . .	Rubb.	0 .	8 . 0
Girdle gloues and Kniues amounte yearly .	Rubb.	0 .	5 . 0

Sum of all amountes as aperith, [13 Rubles 12 altines 6 dengas]

[1] *I.e.*, quantity assigned.

Thus our apprentises being throwlie fournished the first yeare they shall not nede to stand vs in aboue 3 Rubbles the man by the yeare afterward, considering the old apparell made of our comoditie wilbe sold ther againe for so much as will buy them newe for the next yeare, wherof lett euery seruunt render an accompt to you, which we desire to see yearlie in your accomptes, declaring the charge of euery seruuntes apparell in particuler & by name, & if you finde any apprentise that is not willing to obserue this proportion, shipp him home as an vnprofitable seruunt.

Yours JOHN BROKE.[1]
Yours THOMAS HARYS.
ARTHUR DAUBENER.
THON NYLLUAR.

[1] John Brooke, appointed first agent at Wardhouse in 1555 for the merchant adventurers.—*Hakl.*, 1589, p. 295.

NOTE.—The only currency in Russia at this period was silver, for though there was a copper coin called a "pole" [$=\frac{1}{118}$ of $\frac{1}{2}d.$], it was only used in almsgiving at Mosco, and for buying cheap refreshments by the people, such as kvass and fruits, and it was not current among merchants. The silver coins were a "poledenga" [*i.e.*, *half-denga* $=\frac{1}{2}d.$], a "denga" [$=1d.$], "nowgrote" [*i.e.*, *Novgorod denga* $=2d.$]; 2 poledengas made 1 denga, 6 [*Novgorod*] dengas 1 altine [$=1s.$], 23 altines 2 dengas made 1 rouble [$=$ £1 *English money*]. The measures used in Russia were the arshine [$=1$ *Flanders or Antwerp* ell, $=\frac{3}{5}$ *of an English ell*, or $\frac{3}{4}$ *of an English yard*] and the locut [$=\frac{1}{2}$ *an English yard*]; the former used by foreigners and the latter against them by the Russians.—Cf. *The Coins, Weights, and Measures used in Russia, written by John Hasse in* 1554 (Hakl., 1589), p. 293.

A comparison of the relative values of Russian and English coins then and now would be interesting, but this would lead us too far from our subject; suffice it to say that within the memory of persons still living, mercantile transactions were settled in silver money, great bags of which were carried between the different counting-houses. The introduction of a paper currency dispensed with this unwieldy system of transacting business, but its too easy manufacture destroyed the stability of the rouble, which is now (in 1885) worth less than two shillings.

The Priuileges granted by the Emperour of Russia to the English merchants of that company: obteined the 22. of September, anno 1567, by M. Anthony Ienkinson.[1]

ONE onely strengthener of all things, and God without beginning, which was before the world, the Father, the Sonne and the Holy ghost, our onelie God in Trinitie, and maker of all things, whom we worship in all things, and in all places, the doer and fulfiller of all things, which is the perfect knowledge giuer of the true God, our Lord *Jesus Christ*, with the comforter the Holy spirit, and thou which art the strengthener of our faith, keepe vs together, and giue vs health to preserue our kingdome, thou giuer of all good fruites and helper of all Christian beleeuers.

We, great lord by the grace of God, and great duke *Iohn Vasiliwich*, of all *Russia, Vollodimar*,[2] *Mosco, Nouogrod, Cassan* [Kazan] *Astracan, Plasco*,[3] *Smollensko, Twire*,[4] *Vgorie*,[5] *Vate-*

[1] *Hakl.*, 1589, p. 397. Collated with the MS. at the Record Office.—*Cal. S. P.*, Dom. Eliz., 1581-90, vol. cxcvi.

[2] *Vollodimar* (Vladimir), formerly a Grand Duchy of Russia, including Rostof and Murom, but absorbed by Ivan Kalita in the Grand Duchy of Mosco. This territory was afterwards formed into the principalities of Suzdal and Vladimir, and finally, in 1778, became the government of Vladimir. Being centrally situated, and inhabited for the most part by Russians, it took the first rank among their titles.

[3] *Plasco* (Pskof). Chancellor says: "The towne of Plesco is frequented of Marchants for the good store of honie and waxe that it yieldeth."—*Hakl.*, p. 289.

[4] *Twire* (Twer). This Grand Duchy was united to the crown of Mosco in 1484, having been long the prey of rival princes and invading Tartars and Lithuanians.

[5] *Ugorie* (Ugria), the northernmost province of Russia in those days east of the Pechora.—(*Cf.* Jenkinson's map and *ante*, p. 105; also Spruner-Menke, Hist. Hand-Atlas, No. 68.)

que,[1] *Bulgar*,[2] *Sybir*[3] and others, Emperor, and great duke of *Nouogrod* of the lower land,[4] of *Chirnygo*,[5] *Kassan*,[6] *Pollotskie*,[7] *Rostoue*,[8] *Yereslaue*, *Bellozer*,[9] *Vdar*,[10] *Obdar*,[11] *Condine*,[12] and

[1] *Vateque* (Viatka), the country of the Votiaks, now the government of Viatka, in north-eastern Russia. Ivan III subdued this country, and annexed it to his crown in the year 1489.—Cf. *ante*, p. 50.

[2] Bulghar, or Bolghar, ceased to exist as a separate kingdom after the Tartars established themselves at Kazan. This title must, therefore, be meant as complimentary.

[3] *Sybir* (Siberia), conquered in this reign by Yermak, the Cossack. The title of Tsars of Siberia, taken by the Emperors of Russia, only dates from 1563.

[4] *I.e.*, Nijny Novgorod (see *ante*, p. 45).

[5] *Chirnygo* (Chernigof), in south-western Russia, bordering on Kief and now comprised in the government of Chernigof.

[6] *Kassan*, evidently a misprint for Rezan, as it is correctly rendered in the MS. and in the second edition of *Hakluyt*.

[7] *Pollotskie* (Polotsk). Ivan's sovereignty over Polotsk was only temporary, for in 1579 Stephen Batory took the town by assault, and it long afterwards remained a possession of Poland.

[8] *Rostoue* (Rostof), one of the old principalities. It comprised at one time the whole of what is now the government of Yaroslaf, with part of Vladimir (Suzdal), Novgorod (Bielozero), and Vologda. Ivan III purchased the rights of the Grand Dukes of Rostof in 1474, and thus put an end to its separate existence. Descendants of the old princes of Rostof are still among the prominent families of Russia; for instance, Prince Lobanof-Rostof, lately ambassador at the court of St. James, derives his descent from them.

[9] *Bellozer* (Bielozero, *i.e.*, white lake), now a district of the government of Novgorod, is celebrated in Russian annals from the time of Rurik. Four of its princes came to the assistance of Dmitry Donskoi, and fell at the battle of Kulikova. Bielozero was annexed to Mosco in 1486.

[10] *Vdar*, in MS. *Oudoria* (Udoria).—*Cf.* Hughes' Atlas of Comparative Geography.

[11] *Obdar*, *i.e.*, Obdoria, the region on this side the Ob, and near its mouth.—*Cf.* Jenkinson's map, *ante*, p. 105.

[12] *Condine* (Condora, *Condensa*) in *S. P.* MS., misplaced on Jenkinson's map. It lay south of Ugria on the border of Siberia.—*Cf.* Spruner-Menke, No. 70.

lord of many other lands and of all the North Partes, Commander and Lord of *Liffe Land*.[1]

Whereas our sister Queene *Elizabeth*, by the grace of God Queene of England, France and Ireland, hath written to us her letters[2] that we would grant her Merchants: *William Gerrard*,[3] *William Chester*, *Rowland Heyward*, *Lawrence Hussie*, *John Marsh*,[4] *Anthony Ienkinson*, *William Rowlie*,[5] and their company of England, to come in shippes into this kingdome; and those merchants, *William Gerrard* and his company, haue required of vs that we would grant and licence them to come into our country of *Dwina* with all kinde of wares at will, to our citie of *Mosco* and to all our castles in our kingdomes; we, for our sisters sake *Elizabeth* by the grace of God Queene of *England*, *France* and *Ireland*, haue licenced her merchants *William Gerrard* and his company to passe in shippes to our kingdome of *Colmogro*, and to the land of *Dwina*, and to all other our inheritances in the North parts, with all kinde of wares to our citie of *Mosco* and to all castles and townes in our kingdome. And Sir *William*

[1] *Liffeland*, Livonia, included up to the seventeenth century the three Baltic provinces of Courland, Livonia, and Esthonia. Ivan called himself Lord of Livland, by virtue of his victories over the Poles and Teutonic knights. But these provinces had to be given back to Poland when the more enterprising and warlike Stephen Batory (*circa* 1580) defeated the Russians, and restored these possessions to the crown of Poland.

[2] In MS. "a letter". No trace of this letter can be found in England, though it is referred to by Dr. Hamel (p. 177), who, unfortunately, gives no references. In Ivan's answer by Jenkinson he mentions this letter.—*Cf. note*, *infra*, p. 238.

[3] Sir William Gerrard was governor of the Muscovy Company. Letters and documents relating to it, of this period, bear his signature as well as those of Rowland Hayward and William Chester.—*Ante*, p. 225.

[4] John Marsh was Anthony Jenkinson's father-in-law. (See Introduction.)

[5] Agent at Novgorod, and afterwards, from the year 1568, chief agent at Mosco for the company.—*Cf.* Southam and Sparke's Journey, *ante*, p. 202; also p. 215.

Gerrard and his company desired of vs that we would grant them licence to passe to our inheritance of *Cassan* and *Astracan* and into our inheritance of *Nouogrod* the great and to our inheritance of *Liffeland* to *Narue* and *Dorpe*,[1] and to other our castles and townes of *Liffeland* with all kinde of wares, and the trade to be without custome; which request we haue granted to Sir *William Garrard* and his company, and haue giuen them licence to passe to our inheritance of *Cassan* and *Astracan* and *Nouogrod* the great, and into our inheritance of *Liffeland*, *Narue* and *Dorpe* and other places of our inheritance in *Liffeland* with all kinde of wares to buy, barter and sell at will without custome: and what wares soeuer they bring out of *England* or out of any other countrey, needfull or nesessary, that they shall bring all those wares needfull or necessary to our treasury, and those wares there to be opened, and then to take out of the same such wares as shal be needfull for our treasury, and the rest being deliuered againe to sell and barter at their pleasure; and to sell none of the fine[2] wares before they be seene by our chancelers, except sorting clothes, and other wares not meete for our treasurie: and when our chanceler will send our treasure out of our treasurie with them, they shall take it with them, and so sell and barter it for wares meete for our treasurie, and bring it to our treasurie, and they to take no other mens wares to barter or sell with them, nor yet our people to buy or sell for them theyr wares:[3] and if those Eng-

[1] *Dorpe* (Dorpat), the now celebrated university, was, even in those days, the seat of learning. The bishops of Dorpat during the ascendancy of the Teutonic order took an active part in public affairs.

[2] In the *S. P.* MS., "finest".

[3] This passage shows that the Tsar had become a trader himself, and wished to share in the commercial enterprise of the English merchants, though he did speak of their affairs as "boorish", and insisted upon Imperial affairs being attended to in the first instance, and then matters of trade. There is earlier evidence of participation by the Tsar in the English ventures.—*Ante*, pp. 125, 155.

lish merchants do desire to passe out of our kingdome of *Astracan* to *Boghar*, *Shamakie*, *Chaday*,[1] or into any other countryes, or els to goe into their owne countrey, then they to take theyr treasure with them, and to barter and sell it for wares necessarie for our treasurie, and to bring it and deliuer it to our chanceler, and when they come backe againe to our inheritance of *Cassan* and *Astracan* or to any other of our castles & townes, that then our captaine of *Cassan* & *Astracan*, and all other our people of charge, shall not holde them but with speed let them passe without taking custome of them or theyr wares, and without opening or looking vpon them in any wise: and when they haue not our treasure with them, that then likewise no custome shall be taken of them nor their wares to be seene of any man.

And likewise we haue granted them to buy and sell in all our kingdomes and castles, with all kinde of wares: and we haue also licenced them, that when those English merchants doe desire to buy and sell with our marchants wholly together, that they shall haue libertie so to do wholly together: and they that doe desire to sell their own wares by retaile in their owne house, that then they sell it in theyr owne house by retaile to our people & other strangers, as they can agree: and weights and arshenids[2] to be kept in theyr house with our seale, and they themselues to barter and sell theyr owne wares: and no Russe merchant in *Mosco* or any other place in our kingdome [not] to sell for them any wares, nor to buy or barter any wares for them, nor couler[3] any

[1] Bokhara, Shemakha, and Cathay. The Muscovy Company were still hopeful of establishing a trade with those countries through Russia.

[2] *Arshenids* (arshines), *i.e.*, retail measures.—*Cf.* John Hasse, referred to above (p. 227), and *Hakl.*, p. 293.

[3] An old law term. It meant to pass off another person's merchandise as your own, in order to evade duty. This abuse was one of the causes which led to the revocation of the privileges of the foreign merchants of the Stillyard.

strangers goods. And wheras those merchants of *England*, Sir *William Garrard* and his company, do desire to sell their wares at *Colmogro, Dwina, Vologda, Yeraslaue, Costrum*[1] and in *Nouogrod* the lower, *Cassan, Astracan*, great *Nouogrod, Plasko, Narue, Dorpe*, and in other our townes and castles, they shall haue theyr will to sell it: and of their wares of *England* and *Russeland*, no custome shall be taken, neither they nor theyr wares shal be stayed in any place: and when they depart out of *Mosco* to aduertise our chancelor thereof, and not to giue any note or inuentory of any kinde of theyr wares they carry away: and when the English merchants Sir *William Gerrard* and his companie doe come vpon the sea and by misfortune haue theyr shippes cast away vpon those coastes of the North partes, then we will theyr goodes to be sought out with truth and to be deliuered to Sir *William Gerrard* and his company, which as then shall be found in our countrey: and if that Sir *William Gerrardes* company be not in the *Mosco* nor in our countrey, then wee will and command that those goodes of theyrs shall be layd vp in place of safegard vntill such time as the sayd Sir *William Gerrard* or his company come to demand the same: and then at theyr comming wee will that it shall be deliuered. And whereas heeretofore wee haue giuen Sir *William Gerrard* and his companie in this our kingdome of *Mosco*, the new castle by the church of S. *Maxim*[2] behinde the market, they shall there

[1] *Costrum* (Kostroma), 230 miles N.E. of Mosco, on the left bank of the Volga, now the capital of the government of that name, dates its existence as a town from the beginning of the thirteenth century. It was here that Dmitry Donskoi, in 1382, sought refuge from the invading Tartar host of Toktamish, and Vassili Dmitrevitch fled thither, in 1407, from Yedigher. At Kostroma, Michail Romanof, first of that dynasty, accepted the crown of Russia after the troublous times which intervened between the death of Boris Godanof and his accession. Kostroma was always famous for its flax trade, for which it is still noted.

[2] The church of St. Maksim Blajenny (the blessed) stood on the

still holde theyr house as heeretofore wee haue giuen them, paying no custome for the same: and wee also doe licence them to keepe one *Russe* porter or two, or els of theyr owne countrey, and those porters shall dwell with them and not sell for them nor barter nor buy for them. And also I haue graunted them to buy a house at *Vologda* and at *Colmogro* or in any other place where they can choose for themselues any good harbour, and there they to set vp those houses in those places at their owne charges: and in *Vologda* or the other houses to keepe two or three porters of their owne or els two or three *Russes*, and their wares to be layed vp in those houses and to sell their owne wares at wil: and the porters without them to sel none of their wares, neither yet to buy any for them. And our officers of *Colmogro* and *Dwina* and of other our castles and townes shall not looke ouer their wares, nor take any custome thereof: neither shall those English Marchants, Sir *William Garrard* and his company, be iudged by any of them. And when the English Marchants shall sende from our kingdome their owne people into their owne Countrey by land ouer other kingdomes what soeuer they be, they may without ware send their owne people at their pleasure. And when any matter of lawe doeth fall out in their trade of Marchandise, then they shall be iudged by our Chancellours and lawe shall be done with equitie betwixt our people and them. And when they cannot be iudged by law, they then shall be tried by lots, and whose lot is first taken out, he shall haue the right.[1] And if it happen any of those Marchants to haue any matter of lawe in any other part of our Dominions for trade of Mar-

Varvarka. It was built in 1434, and restored in 1676 (*Semeonof*). But the English house was destroyed when the Krim Tartars burnt Mosco in 1571. (See *infra*.)

[1] Henry Lane gives a curious account of this manner of administering justice by lot in a suit between him and some Russian. (See *Hakl.*, 1599, i, 309.)

chants, then our Captaines, Iudges and chiefe officers shall heare the matter and administer Iustice with equitie and trueth, and where lawe can take no place, to be tried by lots, and his lot that is first taken out to haue the right, and for their matters of lawe no custome to bee payde.

Furthermore, wee for our sisters sake *Elizabeth* haue graunted that none beside Sir *William Gerrard* and his Companie, out of what kingdome soeuer it bee, England or other, shall [not] come in trade of Marchandise nor otherwise to *Colmogro*, nor to the Riuer *Ob*, nor within *Wardhouse*, nor to *Petzora*, nor *Cola*, nor *Mezen*,[1] nor to the Abbey *Petchingam*,[2] nor to the Islande of *Sallawye*,[3] nor to any mouth of the riuer of *Dwina*,[4] nor to any part of the North Countrey of our coast: and if any Marchant out of what Countrey soeuer it be, doe come with shippe or shippes, busses,[5] or any other kind of vessell, to any of our harbors, within all our North parts, wee will that then the people and goods, shippe or shippes, shal be confiscate and forfeited to vs the Emperour and great Duke.

Giuen in our kingdome and house of *Mosco* the yeare from the beginning of the world 7,000 three score and sixteene, in

[1] Pechora, Kola, and Mezen, all ports on the White Sea. The first and the last were situated at the estuaries of rivers of the same names. Kola, on the borders of Karelia, was settled by the Dutch in 1565, who from thence endeavoured to carry on a direct trade with the Dwina. The above clause in this privilege was therefore directed against them. (See Barents' *Three Voyages* (Hakl. Soc.), pp. vi and vii.)

[2] *Petshingam* (Pechenga), the monastery alluded to in Jenkinson's narrative.—*Ante*, p. 19.

[3] *Sallawye* (Solovetsky), the famous island monastery at the entrance to Onega Bay.—*Ante*, p. 19.

[4] The northern Dwina has three principal channels in its delta, emptying into the White Sea, viz., Beriozofsky, Murmansky, and Pudojemsky. Of these, the first is alone navigable for large ships.—*Ante*, p. 22.

[5] *Buss*, a small vessel of from 50 to 70 tons burden, used in herring fishing. (See a curious treatise on Britain's "buss", reprinted in Arber's *English Garner*, iii, 621.)

the moneth of September, and in the 34. yeere of our raigne, and in our conquest of *Cassan* 16. and in our conquest of *Astracan* 15. Perused and allowed by vs:

ANTHONIE IENKINSON
WILLIAM ROWLYE
THOMAS HAWTRYE
THOMAS SOWTHAM
RAFE RUTTER translator hereof out of the *Russe* tongue.

November 1567.

A message vnto the quenes excellent Maistie from th'Emperor his highnes of Moscovia, to be doone in secrett vnto her highnes by me her graces seruant A. Jenkinson.[1]

Ffyrst, the sayd Emperor of Muscouia ernestly requireth that there may be a perpetuall frendshipp and kyndred betwixt the quenes Maiestie and hym which shalbe the beginning of further matter to be doone.

Ffurther, the said Emperor requireth that the Quenes Maiestie and he might be (to all their enemyes) joyned as one: to say, her grace to be ffrend to his ffrends and enemy to his enemyes and so p. contra. And that England and Russland might be in all matters as one.

Ffurther, the sayd prynce hath willed to declare to the Quenes Maiestie That as the King of Pole is not his ffrend, even so he sheweth hym self not to be frend to the Quenes Maiestie, ffor that this last Sommer ther was a Spye taken with lettres from the King of Pole dyrected to th'Englyshe mar-

[1] *Ashm. MS.*, No. 1729, fo. 148[ab]; another draft, *Cotton MS.*, Nero B. xi, f. 332. These documents are admirably preserved, and the first appears to be in Jenkinson's handwriting.

chants in Russia wherin was wrytten these wordes. I Sygismond[1] Kinge of Pole, &c., requyre you Englyshe marchants my trusty servants to aide this bringer, and to assyste and ayde such Russes as be my frends with money and all other helpes with other wordes. Wherat th'Emperor at the ffyrst was much offended. But after by the confession of the Spye (when he suffred death) yt was knowen to be a practyse of the Kinge of Pole, as well to haue by that meanes caused the indignacon of th'Emperor to haue fallen vpon th'Englysh nation and to haue broke frendship betwyxt the Quenes Maiestie and hym, As also that he shold haue charged dyvers of his Nobles with treazon. Wherefore th'Emperor requireth the Quenes maiestie that she wold bee joyned with hym (as one) vpon the Pole and not to suffer her people to haue trade of marchandyze with the subiects of the Kinge of Pole.

Ffurther, the Emperor requyreth that the Quenes Maiestie wold lycense maisters to cum vnto him wich can make shippes and sayle them.

Ffurther, that the Quenes Maiestie wold suffer hym to haue owt of England all kynde of Artyllery and thinges necessary for warre.

Ffurther, th'Emperor requyreth ernestly that ther may be assurance made by othe and fayth betwyxt the Quenes Maiestie and hym, that yf any mysfortune might fall or chance vpon eyther of theym to goe owt of ther contreys,

[1] Sigismond II was extremely jealous of the English trade with Russia, and employed every means in his power to stop it, even sending messengers with pretended letters of thanks to English merchants in order to rouse the suspicions of Ivan against them. He fitted out ships in Danzig, at that time a possession of Poland, to capture English ships going to Narva, persuaded Denmark and Sweden not to use that route, and even threatened Elizabeth that loss of life, liberty, wives, and children awaited those who should carry wares and weapons to the Muscovite, who was not only the enemy of the King of Poland, but "the hereditary foe of all free nations".

that yt might be lawfull to eyther of them to cum into the others cuntrey for the saulfgard of them selves and ther lyves. And ther to lyve and haue relyff without any feare or danger vntill such tyme as such mysfortune be past, and that God hath otherwyse provyded, and that the one may be receyved of th'other with honner. And this to be kept most secret.

And of all this matter, th'Emperor requyreth the Quenes Maiestie most humbly to haue answer by sum of her trusty counsellers, or by one of more greater estimacyon than my self. And whatsoeuer the Quenes Maiestie shall requyre of hym yt shalbe granted and fully accomplyshed.

The Quenes Maiestie answer to be geven th'Emperor requyreth by St. Petars day[1] next.

Endorsed, Novemb. 1567, Antho. Ienkinson's message to the Quenes Maiesty from th'Emperor of Moscouia.

[1] 29th June.

NOTE.—Besides the above "message", the Emperor of Russia wrote to the Queen by Anthony Jenkinson. This letter, written in September 1567, is preserved at Hatfield House. The following abstract of it is given in the calendar of the Cecil MSS.:—"Ivan Vasilivitz, Emperour of all Russia.....Has received the Queen's letter by her messenger Anthony Jenkinson, in which it is stated that the Queen has sent in the name of the chief of the Company which trafficks in his dominions, and for friendship's sake, has sent him an architector [*sic*], a doctor, an apothecary and other masters, and desiring him to be good and gracious to her merchants. Anthony has desired him in behalf of William Garret, William Chester, Rowland Hayward, Laurence Husey, John Husey, John Marsh and Anthony Jenkinson, William Roly, and their company, that he should suffer them to come into the Muscovite dominions and to the town of Dorpt, Narve and the country of Dwina, and to all havens, to buy and sell without custom, and to suffer no other merchants of whatsoever country but Garret and his company to come into the north parts and Dwina to traffic.

The Emperor has been gracious to the company aforesaid and has given them his letters, and the other masters have been well received in his dominions. And for this the Queen's friendship he has increased his friendship towards her, and so may she send her great messenger who shall talk with his council and the Queen's wishes be fulfilled, that the Queen and himself may be in good friendship and everlasting love. Written in our princely Court of Muscovy, in the year from the making of the world 7076, in the month of September, Indictione 11, of our age the 34, of our Imperial reign in Russia the 21, of Kazan the 16, and of Astrakan the 15."

Endorsed by Cecil: "Tho. Randolph, Tho. Bannester, Jeffry Duckett."

[1568. *June* 16.]

Instructions for Tho. Randolph, esquier, Master of the Queenes Maiesties posts being sent in Ambassad to the Emperor of Russia.[1]

[The words printed in italics are corrections on the original draft in the handwriting of Cecil.]

WHERAS the said Emperor of Russia sent vnto vs by Anthony Ienkinson his lettres dated in September,[2] by which among other things is signified vnto vs that vpon our request he had inlarged his former graunts of liberties to the company of the marchants of our Relme of England, trading the north parties of his countries, and that he was ready to entertayne all good amitie and friendship betwext him and vs. And further *declared* to our said seruant Anthony Ienkinson *his desyre to be in frendshipp with vs without end*, which he did communicate vnto vs, and *to that end wold haue vs send to hym our great messenger*.[3]

You shall vpon access vnto him and suche ceremonies vsed as you shall by your discretion think may stande with our honour, hauing regard to his estate & the vsage of those his countreis, declare vnto him the somme of that aboue mentioned, and thereupon shall giue him thanks for his frendly wrytings and other dealings towards our subiects and seruants, and shall assure him that we meane to retayne the same in our contynuall memory; and so with lyk good speaches you shall conclude that we have made choice of you at this present to com and visit him, and to conferre with him vpon any maner of mater that shall please him to open or disclose vnto you.

[1] *S. P.*, For. Eliz., 1568, No. 2272. [2] Cf. *ante*, p. 238, *note*.
[3] Cf. *ante*, p. 236 and *ibid.*

And you shall saye that our said seruant Anthony Ienkinson hath very secretly told vs that the said Emperour was desirous to haue suche a frendship betwext vs, as if eyther of vs had cause by any misfortune to seeke refuge out of our owne countreis, that in that case the one might be a defendour of the others cause. To which mater you shall saye that we did think that our said seruant Anthony Ienkynson might misconceaue the woords of the said Emprour. For thoughe we think it very trew that the Emperour might propounde to our said servant a motion to haue Amitie and frendship to be keptt betwext vs, yet consydering on the one parte thoroughe Gods goodnes allwais shewed vnto vs, we haue no manner of doubt of the contynuance of our peceable gouernment without danger eyther of our subiects or of any forren ennemys. And on the other parte, we know not anything to the contrary of the state of the said Emperour, of whos power and wisdom we haue good reporte made to vs by our subiects trading in his countreis, we doo think that our said seruant hath mistaken the intencion of the said emperors speche vnto him. And yet neuertheles, for the clearer vnderstanding of his mynde, we haue willed you to repete this matter, therin to know cleerly his Intencion, assuring him that if any mischance might happen in his estate (as all things vnder heauen are subiecte at Gods will to mutations and changes) we doo assure him, he shall be frendly receiued into our dominions, and shall finde assured frendship in vs toward the mayntenance of all his just causes, in as good sorte as if he had speciall graunts or couenants from vs in that behalfe signed with our hand and sealed with our seale.

And in such good generall sorte we wold haue you satisfie him without giuing occasyon to enter into any speciall Treaties or Capitulacion of any such legue as is called offensiue and defensiue betwext vs. *Whereof though the sayd Anthony Ienkynson made mention to vs, yet we wold haue you*

pass those matters with silence, for we are not ignorant of the Inmitie that is betwext him and the Empire of *Roome,* and also betwext him and the Kings of Pole, Sweden, & suche others: so as it cannot be convenyent for vs to make any outward treaty with him, otherwise than to haue some graunts from him for priuilegs to the benefit of our merchants. In which cause our special Intencion is to haue you to trauell *and that is our speciall cause of sendyng you thither.*

Item. We haue ordeyned that you shall present him from vs with a riche standing cupp of the weight of [1]ounes, conteyning in it greate nombere of peeces of plat[e] artificially wrought, which when you shall present, you shall recommend it for the Rarytie of the fashon, assuring him that we doo send him that same rather for the newnes of the devise than for the value, it being the first that euer was made in these partes of that manner. And so as you see cause to sett fourth the gift, as in de[e]d the woork of it self doth well deserue.

And where the societie of the merchants haue made choice of ii trusty wyse merchants of their companye, *Thomas Bannister* & *Geoffrey Ducket,* to whom also we have for their more Credit giuen commission with your self to treate with the said Emperor about the maters of their traffick. Because the said societye hath best knowledge how to aduaunce that Treaty, we must wholly referr you to suche instructions as the said societie hathe in that behalfe deuised, and doo requier you to vse all your diligence & wysdom & credit to the furderance of the same & specially to the recouering of the stock & store of the said societie, out of the hands of such as haue been ther put in trust by them with their trade, & haue notoriously abused & falsly deceiuid the same marchants.

Endorsed.—Copy of Instructions for Master Randolph, sent into Moscovia, 16 Junii 1568.

[1] Words, or figures, omitted in the MS.

1. To complement yet not lyk in with *anie* formers.

2. To ofer him retreat here if occasion serus.

3. To recall the Ienkinsons messag from him selfe of his desier of a league offensyu and defensyu, which the Queene cannot mak in regard of his discord with the Emperor, Pole and Swede.

4. To deliuer a present and comend the purity of the workmanship, not the value.

5. To draw especiall his establishing the trade, and thereto tak that consell of 2 merchants named in the instruccions.

The Ambassage of the right worshipfull M. Thomas Randolfe, Esquire, to the Emperour of Russia, in the yeere 1568. Briefly written by himselfe.[1]

In this voyage went Thomas Banister and Geofrey Ducket, for their voyage into Persia.

THE 22. day of June, in the yeere of our Lord 1568. I went aboorde the *Harry*, lying in the roade at *Harwich* with my companie, being to the nomber of 40. persons or there about: of which the one halfe were Gentlemen, desirous to see the world.

Within one dayes sayling, we were out of the sight of all lande, and following our course directly North, till wee came to the North *Cape*, wee sailed for the space of 12. dayes with a prosperous winde, without tempest or outrage of sea: Hauing compassed the North *Cape*, we directed our course flatte southeast, hauing vpon our right hande *Norway, Wardhouse, Laplande*, all out of sight till wee came to *Cape Gallant*:[2] And so sayling betweene two Bayes, the two and thirtieth day after our departure from *Harwiche*, we cast ancre at *S. Nicholas* roade. In all the time of our voyage, more then

[1] *Hakl.*, 1589, pp. 399-402.

[2] Sviatoi Noss, cf. *ante*, p. 20, and W. Boroughs' map.

the great number of Whales ingendering together, which wee might plainely beholde, and the *Sperma cetæ*,[1] which we might see swimming vpon the sea, there was no great thing to be wondered at. Sometimes we had calmes, wherein our Mariners fished and tooke good store of diuers sorts. At *S. Nicholas* wee landed the 23. of July, where there standeth an abbey of Monkes (to the nomber of 20.) built all of wood: the apparel of the monkes is superstitious, in blacke hoods as ours haue bene. Their Church is faire, but full of painted images, tapers and candles. Their owne houses are lowe and small roomes. They lie apart, they eate together, and are much giuen to drunkennesse, vnlearned, write they can, preach they doe neuer, ceremonious in their Church and long in their prayers.

The abbey of S. Nicholas of 20. Monks.

At my first arriuall I was presented from their Prior with two great rye loaues, fish both salt and fresh of diuers sorts, both sea fish and fresh water, and sheepe aliue, blacke with a white face, to be the more grateful vnto me, and so with many solemne words inuiting me to see their house, they tooke their leaue.

Towne or habitation at *S. Nicholas* there is none more then about 4. houses neere the abbey and another built by the English Companie for their owne vse.

The English house at S. Nicholas.

This part of the Countrey is most part wood, sauing here & there pasture & arable ground, many riuers and diuers Islands vnhabited, as the most part of the Countrey is, for the coldnesse in winter.

S. Nicholas standeth Northeast: the eleuation of the pole 64. degrees. The riuer that runneth there into the sea is

[1] Prof. Nordenskiöld says: "It is very remarkable that whales still occur in great abundance on the Norwegian coast, though they have been hunted there for a thousand years, but only occasionally east of the White Sea." (*Voyage of the Vega*, i, 168, and cf. *ante*, p. 16.) The spermaceti seen by our author refers to the well-known secretion of the whale, called by old writers "ambergris", and noticed by Olaus Magnus, who mentions early legends concerning it.

called *Dwina*, very large but shallow. This riuer taketh his beginning about 700. miles within the countrey, and vpon this riuer standeth *Colmogro* & many prettie villages, well situated for pasture, arable land, wood and water. The riuer pleasant, betweene high hils of either side inwardly inhabited, and in a maner a wildernes of high firre trees and other wood. The riuer of Dwina.

At *Colmogro* being 100. verstes, which we accompt for 3. quarters of a mile euery verst, wee taried 3. weekes, not being suffered to depart before the Emperour had worde of our comming; who sent to meete vs a Gentleman of his house to conuey vs and to see vs furnished of victuals and all things needefull vpon his owne charge. Colmogro.

The allowance of meate and drinke was for euery day 2. rubbles, besides the charge of boates by water, and 4. score post horses by lande, with aboue 100. cartes to carrie my wines and other carriage.

Colmogro is a greate towne builded all of wood, not walled but scattered house from house.[1] The people are rude in maners & in apparell homely, sauing vpon their festiuall and marriage dayes.

The people of this towne, finding commoditie by the English mens trafique with them, are much at their commandement, giuen much to drunkennes and all other kinde of abominable vices.

In this towne the Englishmen haue landes of their owne giuen them by the Emperour, and faire houses with offices for their commoditie very many. An English house with lands at Colmogro.

Of other townes vntil I come to *Vologda* I write not, because they are much like to this and the inhabitants not differing from them.

I was 5. whole weekes vpon the riuer of *Dwina* till I came to *Vologda*, being drawen with men against the streame, for other passage there is none.

[1] Cf. *ante*, p. 23, *note*.

Vologda standeth vpon the riuer of *Vologda*, which commeth into *Dwina*. The towne is great and long, built all of wood as all their townes are.

In this towne the Emperour hath built a castle inuironed with a wall of stone and bricke, the walles faire and high rounde about.[1] Here (as in all other their townes) are many Churches, some built of bricke, the rest of wood, many Monkes and Nunnes in it: a towne also of great trafique and many rich marchants there dwelling.

From hence we passed by lande towardes *Mosco* in poste, being 500. verstes great,[2] which are equall with our miles. In their townes we baited or lay, being post townes.

The description of the inland of Moscouie.

The countrey is very faire, plaine and pleasant, wel inhabited, corne, pasture, medowes ynough, riuers and woods faire and goodly.

At *Yeraslaue* wee passed the riuer of *Volga*, more then a mile ouer.[3] This riuer taketh his beginning at *Beatla Ozera*[4] and decendeth into *Mare Caspium*, portable thorow of very great vessels with flatte bottomes which farre passe any that our countrey vseth.

To saile by this riuer into *Mare Caspium*, the English Com-

[1] *Cf. ante*, note, p. 26.

[2] There seems to have been two kinds of versts in Russia at this time: one, the modern verst, equal to about two-thirds of an English mile (cf. *ante*, p. 190); the other, the "great verst", now obsolete, equal to a full English mile.

[3] *Cf.* p. 28, *note*.

[4] *Beatla Ozero* (Bielo Ozero), *i.e*, white lake, in the Government of Novgorod, a sheet of water covering an area of 986 square versts, oval in shape, without any bays worth mentioning. Its greatest length is 40½ versts (27 miles), and width 30 versts (20 miles). The lake is fed by thirty-one tributaries, and discharges by the river Sheksna, a left navigable tributary of the Volga; but the source of this latter river is considered to be a marshy spring situated in a plain in 57° N. latitude, 840 feet above sea level. The channel of this spring is lined with timber, and a small chapel near the village of Volgino Verkhovia (Volga's source) marks the exact spot.—*Semeonof.*

panie caused a barke to be built of 27. tunne, which there was neuer seene before. This barke built and readie rigged to the sea with her whole furniture, cost not the companie aboue one hundredth marks there.

His arriual at Mosco.

To *Mosco* we came about the ende of September receiued by no man, not so much as our owne countreymen suffered to meete vs, which bred Suspicion in mee of some other course intended then we had hetherto found.

A special house at Mosco, built for Embassadours.

We were brought to a house built of purpose by the Emperour for Embassadours, faire and large, after the fashion of that Countrey.

Two gentlemen were appointed to attend vpon me, the one to see vs furnished of victuals and that we lacked nothing of the Emperors allowance: the other to see that we should not goe out of the house, nor suffer any man to come vnto vs, in which they left nothing vndone that belonged to their charge. But specially he that looked to our persons, so straightly handled vs, that we had no small cause to doubt that some euill had bene intended vnto vs. No supplication, suite or request could take place for our libertie, nor yet to come to his presence.

Hauing passed ouer 17. weekes in this sort, the Emperour sendeth word that we should be readie against tuesday the 20. of Februarie at 8. a clocke in the morning.

The houre being come that I should go to the Court, the two Gentlemen, *Pristaues* (as they cal them) came vnto me apparelled more princely then before I had euer seene them. They presse vs to depart, and mounted vpon their owne horses and the Embassadour vpon such a one as he had borrowed, his men marching on foote to their great griefe.

2. Pristaues.

The Embassadour (being my selfe) was conueyed into an office where one of the Chancellers doeth vse to sit; being there accompanied with the 2. foresaid Gentlemen I tarried 2. long houres before I was sent for to the Emperour. In the

ende message being brought that the Emperour was set, I was conueyed by my gentlemen vp a paire of staires through a large roome, where sate by my estimation 300. persons, all in riche attire taken out of the Emperours wardrobe for that day, vpon three rankes of benches, set round about the place rather to present a Maiestie then that they were either of qualitie or honour.[1]

At the first entrie into the Chamber, I with my cappe gaue them the reuerence, such as I iudged their stately sitting, graue countenances and sumptuous apparel required, and seeing that it was not answered againe of any of them, I couered my head, and so passing to a chamber where the Emperour was, there receiued mee at the doore from my 2 Gentlemen or gouernours, two of the Emperors Counsellers and shewed me to the Emperor and brought mee to the middle of the chamber, where I was willed to stand still and to say that which I had to say. I by my Interpreter opened my message as I receiued it from the Queene my Mistresse, from whom I came, at whose name the Emperour stood vp and demaunded diuers questions of her health and state: wherevnto answere being made, he gaue me his hand in token of my welcome and caused me to sit downe, and further asked me diuers questions.[2]

His admission to the Emperors presence.

This done I deliuered her Maiesties present, which was a notable great Cuppe of siluer curiously wrought with verses

The Queenes present.

[1] *Kotoshikin*, a writer on early Russian customs quoted by Mr. Morfill in his *Slavonic Literature* (p. 92), says of the *boyars* that they are all ignorant men, and even in the Tsar's *douma* or council "sit silently stroking their beards, and make no reply when there is need of their advice".

[2] With reference to this episode of Randolph's embassy, Karamsin writes (ix, 168):—"Le fier Anglais, offensé de cette injure, se couvrit sur le champ. A cet acte de vigueur on s'attendait à voir éclater le courroux du tzar; il accuellit, au contraire, Randolph avec bonté, l'assura de l'amitié qu'il portait à sa chère sœur Elizabeth, et rendit ses bonnes grâces aux marchands anglais."

grauen in it, expressing the histories workmanly set out in the same.[1]

All being said and done (as appeared) to his contentment, he licensed mee and my whole company to depart, who were all in his presence, and were saluted by him with a nodde of his head, and said vnto me: I dine not this day openly for great affaires I haue, but I wil send thee my dinner and giue leaue to thee and thine to goe at libertie and augment our allowance to thee in token of our loue and fauour to our sister the Queene of England. The Emperors speach to the Embassadour.

I with reuerence took my leaue, being conueyed by 2. other of greater calling then those that brought me to the Emperors sight: who deliuered me to the two first Gentlemen who conducted me to the office where I first was, where came vnto mee one called the *long Duke*, with whom I conferred a while and so returned to my lodging.

Within one houre after in comes to my lodging a duke richly apparelled, accompanied with 50. persons, eche of them carrying a siluer dish with meate and couered with siluer. The duke first deliured 20. loaues of bread of the Emperors owne eating, hauing tasted the same, and deliuereth euery dish into my hands and tasted of euery kinde of drinke that he brought.

This being done, the duke and his companie sate downe with me and tooke part of the Emperors meate, and filled themselues well of all sorts and went not away from me unrewarded.

Within few nights after the Emperor had will to speake secretly with mee, and sent for me in the night by the *Long duke;* the place was farre off and the night cold, and I hauing changed my apparell into such as the *Russes* doe weare found great incommoditie thereby.

Hauing talked with him aboue 3. houres, towards the morning I was dismissed and so came home to my lodging,

[1] *Cf.* Instructions to Randolph, *ante*, p. 242.

where I remained aboue 6. weekes after before I heard againe from the Emperor, who went the next day to *Slouoda*, the house of his solace.[1] After the ende of which 6. weekes, which was about the beginning of April, the Emperor returned from *Slouoda* aforesaid and sent for me againe to make repaire vnto him. And being come I dealt effectually with him in the behalfe of our English Marchants, and found him so gratiously inclined towards them that I obtained at his hands my whole demands for large priuileges in general, together with all the rest my particular requests.

A second conference with the Emperor.

And then hee commended to my conduct into England a nobleman of his, called *Andrewe Sauin*, as his Embassadour for the better confirmation of his priuiledges graunted and other negotiations with her Maiestie. And thus being dispatched with full contentment, the saide Embassadour and my selfe departed and imbarked at *S. Nicholas* about the ende of Iuly, and arriued safely at London in the moneth of September following.[2]

[1] Alexandrofsky Sloboda, referred to above, *ante*, p. 188, *note*.

[2] "The 27 of August", says John Stowe, in his *Summary* (p. 524), "Andrew Gregoreuiche Sauin, Embassadour from Muscouy, landed at the Tower wharfe, and was ther receyued by the Lord Maior of London, the Aldermen, and shriues in skarlet, with the marchants aduenturers in coates of blacke veluet al on horsebacke, who conuaied him, riding throughe the citie, to the Muscouye house in Sedinge Lane ther to be lodged."

A Commission giuen by vs Th. Randolph, Embassadour for the Queenes Maiestie in Russia, and Th. Bannister, etc., Vnto James Bassendine, James Woodcocke, and Rich. Browne, the which Bassendine, Woodcocke, and Browne, we appoint ioyntly together and ayders, the one of them to the other, in a voyage of discouery to be made (by the grace of God) by them, for searching of the sea and border of the coast from the riuer Pechora to the Eastwardes, as hereafter followeth, Ann. 1588 [1568]. The first of August.[1]

Inprimis, when your barke with all furniture is ready, you shall at the beginning of the yeere (as soone as you possible may) make your repaire to the Easterne part of the riuer *Pechora*, where is an island called *Dolgoieue*, and from thence you shall passe to the Eastwardes alongest by the Sea coast of *Hugorie*[2] or the mayne land of *Pechora*, and sayling alongst by the same coast you shall passe within seuen leagues of the Island *Vaigattes*, which is in the straight, almost halfe way from the coast of *Hugorie*, vnto the coast of *Noua Zembla*, which island *Vaigattes* and *Noua Zembla* you shall finde noted in your plat,[3] therefore you shall not neede to discouer it: but proceede on alongest the coast of *Hugorie*, towardes the riuer *Obba*.

There is a Bay betweene the saide *Vaigattes* & the riuer *Obba*, that doth byte to the Southwardes into the land of *Hugorie*, in which Bay are two small riuers,[4] the one called *Cara Reca*, the

[1] *Hakl.*, pp. 406-408. Collated with MS. Lansd. 10, f. 35.

[2] In the MS. spelt "Yougorie"; the words "or Pechora" are added; *cf. ante*, p. 228.

[3] Chart.

[4] The qualifying adjective "small" is omitted in the MS., and should not be applied to the Kara, which has a course of 250 versts (170 miles), and a breadth of two-thirds of a mile in its lower course.

other *Narmsye*,[1] as in the paper of notes which are giuen to you herewith may appeare, in the which Baye you shall not neede to spende any time for searching of it, but to direct your course to the river *Ob* (if otherwise you be not constrained to keepe alongst the shoare). And when you come to the Riuer *Ob*, you shall not enter into it, but passe over vnto the Easterne parte of the mouth of the said riuer.

And when you are at the Easterne part of the mouth of *Obba Reca* you shall from thence passe to the Eastwards, alongst by the border of the said coast, describing the same in such perfect order, as you can best doe it. You shall not leaue the saide coaste or border of the land, but passe alongst by it, at least in sight of the same, vntill you haue sailed by it so farre to the Eastwards and the time of the yeere so farre spent, that you doe thinke it time for you to returne with your barke to Winter, which trauell may well be three or 400. leagues to the Eastwards of the *Ob*, if the sea doe reach so farre, as our hope is it doth: but and if you finde not the said coast and sea to trende so farre to the Eastwards, yet you shall not leaue the coast[2] at any time, but proceede alongst by it, as it doth lie, leauing no part of it vnsearched or seene, vnlesse it be some baye or riuer, that you doe certainly know by the report of the people that you shall finde in those borders, or else some certaine tokens whereby you of your selues may iudge it to be so. For our hope is that the said border of land and sea, doth in short space after you passe the *Ob* incline East and so to the Southwardes.[3] And therefore we would haue no part of the land of your starreboord side, as you proceede in your discouerie, to be left vndiscouered.

But and if the said border of lande doe not incline so to the Eastwards as we presuppose it, but that it doe prooue to incline and trende to the Northwardes and so ioyne with *Noua Zembla*, making the sea from *Vaigats* to the Eastwards but a baye: yet we

[1] *Narmsye* appears on old maps on Yalmal peninsula east of Kara bay; there is no river of this name.

[2] In MS.: "that coast".

[3] In MS.: "and *then* to the southwardes".

NAMES ON WILLIAM BOROUGHS' MAP

With Identifications.

Norway.

- Drontham (Trondhjem)
- Nomendale
- Helga land (Helge land)
- Rust Ilonds (Rust or Rost Ids.)
- Sayre yee (Soroe Id.)
- Loffowt (Lofoden)
- Zenam (Senjen Id.)
- Assumption point
- North Cape
- Sketneness (Slaet ness)
- Ongonge (Omgangs Klubb W. side of Tana fiord)
- C. good hope
- Wardhows (Vardö)
- Domshaff (Varanger fiord)

Lapland.

- pechengam Monastery (Peisen)
- khegore (Ribatski pen.)
- meanauolok (mai navolok)
- St. Mary ness
- Kola flu (R. Kola)
- Kiluna Ilond (Kildyn Id.)
- C. sowrbear (C. Teriberskoy)
- Camensky flu (R. Kamensky)
- St. Peters Ilonds
- St. Pauls I.
- St. Georges Ilonds
- Nocoyeua ostroue (Nokuev Id.)
- Arzina flu (R. Arzina)
- C. comfort (C. Cherni)
- St. John's Ilonds (Iukanskie Ids.)
- C. Gallant (Sviatoi noss)
- lomboshok (Lumbovski bay)
- Corpus Xri. p. (perhaps Gorodetsky)
- Knok John (Orlovska shoal)
- C. race (C. Orlov)

White Sea.

- Tre ostrouy (Tri ostrova pt.)
- ponoy flu (R. Ponoi)
- C. grace (Krasni pt.)
- Cros Ilond (Sosnovets)
- powlogne flu (Poulonga R.)

West Shore.

- Tetrene noze (Tetrina)
- Niconemsko noze (Nikodimskoi pt.)
- Strelna flu (Strelnaia)
- chauon (Chavanga pt.)
- Varziga flu (R. Varzouka)
- Onega flu (R. Onega)
- Solofka (Solovetsky)

Gulf of Archangel.

- Owna (Ouna)
- Newnox (Nenoksa)
- St. Nicolas
- Colmogro (Kholmogori)
- Yemsa (Iemsa)
- Duyna fl (R. Dwina)
- pinego fl (R. Pinega)
- Micola
- St. Myghels (St. Michael, Archangel)
- Sugha mora (The Dry Sea)
- Koska noze (Kouiski pt.)
- Poscha flu (probably Bol. Kozli)
- Fox noze (C. Kerets)

White Sea E. Shore.

- Toua flu (river indicated, unnamed)
- poynt paynticost (perhaps Pr. Intsi)

Gulf of Mezen.

- Cape good fortune (C. Voronov)
- pt. lowk owt
- Kowsoay flu (R. Kouloi)
- Kowsoay
- Mezena flu (R. Mezen)
- lampas (Lampojna)
- C. St. John (C. Kanushin)
- Canynoze (C. Kanin noss)
- Morgeouets (Morjovets Id.)

White Sea E. Shore.

- Colgoyeue (Kolguev Id.)
- Suati noze (Sviatoi noss)
- Pechora (R. Pechora)
- Dolgoyene (Dolguev)
- Vaygattes (Vaigats)
- Nouo Zembla (Novaya Zemlia)

[O.R 1.ib. 16. D.iii]

will that you doe keepe alongst by the said coast, and so bringe vs certaine report of that forme and manner of the same baye.

And if it doe so prooue to be a baye, and that you haue passed rounde about the same and so by the trending of the land come back vnto that part of *Noua Zembla* that is against *Vaigats*, whereas you may from that[1] see the said Island *Vaigats*, if the time of the yeere will permit you, you shall from thence passe alongst by the said border & coast of *Noua Zembla* to the Westwards and so to search whether that part of *Noua Zembla* doe ioyne with the lande that sir *Hugh Willoughbie* discouered in anno 53. and is in 72. degrees,[2] and from that part of *Noua Zembla* 120. leagues to the Westwards, as your plat doth shewe it vnto you. And if you doe finde that lande to ioyne with *Noua Zembla* when you come to it, you shall proceede further along the same coast,[3] if the time of the yeere will permit it, and that you doe thinke there will be sufficient time for you to retourne backe with your barke to winter, either at *Pechora*, or into *Russia* at your discretion: for we referre the same[4] to your good iudgements, trusting that you will lose no time that may further your knowledge in this voyage.

Note you, it was the 20. of August 56. ere the *Serchethrift*[5] began to returne backe from her discouerie, to winter in *Russia*. And then she came from the Island *Vaigats*, being forcibly driuen from thence with an Easterly winde and yce. And so she came into the riuer *Dwina* and arriued at *Colmogro* the 11. of September, 56. If the yce had not bene so much that yeere as it was in the

[1] In MS.: "from it", *i.e.*, from Nova Zembla.

[2] The land sighted by Willoughby was that portion of the west coast of Nova Zembla known to Russians as the Goose Coast. *Cf.* *Barents' Three Voyages* (Hakl. Soc.), second edition, p. lxvi.

[3] In MS.: "to the westwards so farr as you thinck the time of the year", etc.

[4] In MS.: "for we refer the time".

[5] In MS., in brackets: "a pinace sent to discouer first", etc. It was, however, not till the 22nd August that Stephen Burrough decided to return. *Cf.* "His Navigation and Discovery towards the River Ob," *Hakl.*, p. 320.

Streights, on both sides of the Island *Vaigats*, they in the said pinnesse would that yeere haue discouered the partes that you are nowe sent to seeke: which thing (if it had pleased God) might haue bene done then: but God hath reserued it for some other. Which discouerie, if it may be made by you, it shall not onely proue profitable vnto you, but it will also purchase perpetuall fame and renowne both to you and our Countrey. And thus not doubting of your willing desires, and forwardnes towards the same, we pray God to blesse you with a luckie beginning, fortunate successe, and happily to ende the same. Amen.

Necessarie Notes to be Obserued and Followed in your Discouerie, as hereafter followeth [by William Burrough].

When your barke with all furniture and necessaries shall be in readines for you to depart to the sea (if it be that you take your barke at *S. Nicholas* or any part of *Dwina Reca*) you shall from thence, euen as timely in the spring as the yce will permit you, saile and make all expedition that may be vnto the mouth of the riuer *Pechora* (as your commission doth leade you). And as you passe by the coast all alongst, notwithstanding the plat that sheweth you the description of the said coast from *Dwina* vnto *Vaigats*) yet you shall seeke by all the meanes that you can to amend the same plat, vsing as many obseruations as you possibly can doe: and these notes following are to be obserued by you principally:

1. First that you doe obserue the latitude as often and in as many places as you may possibly doe it, noting diligently the place where you doe so obserue the same.

2. Also that you doe diligently set with your compasse how the land doth lie from point to point, all alongst[1] as you goe, and to vse your iudgementes howe farre there may bee betweene eche of them.

3. Item, that you doe alwayes vse to drawe the proportion and byting of the land, as well the lying out of the poyntes and head

[1] In MS.: "all alongst the coast as you travayle".

lands, vnto the which you shall giue some apt names (at your discretion), as also the forme of the Bayes, and to make some marke in drawing the forme and border of the same, where the high cliffs are and where lowe lande [is], whether sandie hilles or whatsoeuer: omitte not to note any thing that may be sensible and apparant to you which may serue to any purpose.

4. In passing along by any coast that you keepe your lead going often times and sound at the least once euery glasse, and oftener if you thinke good as occasion doeth serue, and note diligently the depth, with the maner of the grounde, and at euery time, howe farre the same sounding may be from the next shore to it: and howe the next poynt or head land doth beare from you. [And in the sea, after you set off from your porte, you shall orderly at the end of euery foure glasses sound, and if you finde ground, note the depth and what grounde, but if you can finde no ground, you shall also note in what depth you could finde no ground.][1]

5. Also that you doe diligently obserue the flowing & ebbing in euery place and how the tides do set, which way the flood doth come, and how much water it doth high in euery place, and what force the same tide hath to driue a ship in an houre as neere as you can iudge it.

6. Also that you doe seeke to obserue with the Instrument which I deliuer you herewith, according as I taught you at *Rose* Island,[2] the true platformes[3] and distances in as many places as conueniently you may, for it serueth very aptly your purpose.

7. Also that you take with you paper and ynke and keepe a continuall iournall or remembrance day by day of all such things as shal fal out worth the knowledge, not forgetting or omitting to write it and note it, that it may be shewed and read at your returne.

8. These orders if you shall diligently obserue it will bee easie for you to make a platte and perfect description of your discouerie, and so shall your notes bee sufficient to answere that which is

[1] Paragraph omitted in MS.
[2] In MS.: "at St. Nicholas".
[3] Ground plan or design.

looked for at your handes. But withall you may not forgette to note as manie thinges as you can learne and vnderstande by the reporte of anie people whatsoeuer they be, so that it appertaine any way to our desires. And thus the Lord God prosper your voyage. Amen.[1]

THOMAS RANDOLPH TO SIR WM. CECIL.

[1568, *Aug.* 12.][2]

KNOWINGE how willinge your honnor wilbe to heare of our saulf arrivall in this Emperours countrie, yt may please you to vnderstande that we landed here at *St. Nicholas* the thyrde of this instante in the morning. Our passage for suche as are good sea men well to be lyked of, and as yt apperethe fare enoughe from daynger yf yt be taken in tyme, xx dayes or ther abowte we sawe no land and had sea rowme at will. I was my self the worste trowbled in the whole Compagnie and feele yet of the paynes I indured ther. Our prouision layde in by the marchants was with the meaneste, our beare starke sower, our water so ewle as none coulde be wurce even from our fyrste imbarkinge to th'ende of our passage; other then the comen mariners foode we had nothynge appoynted by them.....To the Master this bearer, *William* of *Borrowe*, I am most beholdinge. I lacked nothynge that he myght do, and fynde his governmente and schill to be suche that I wysshe the Quenes maiestie maynie men of suche seruice. Yf your honnor, besyds suche thanks as I truste he shall receave at your hands for his well doynge towards me, do see further occasion to do hym good, I beseche your honnor that he maye be made as myche bounde vnto you as I knowe that he hathe mynde well to deserve. Hys

[1] In the MS. William Borough's signature follows at the foot, and below it is a rough outline of the coast to be explored. On this sketch are shown the islands of Vaigats and Dolguev, the estuary of the Ob, bounded on the east by sandhills, the rivers Cara Reca and Narmze discharging from opposite sides into a bay, and the *Kamen bolshoy*, or great rock, forming the northern extremity of the Ural range, better known in those latitudes as Paehoi.

[2] *S. P.*, For. Eliz., No. 2,414.

brother[1] is so well knowne to your honnor for his sufficiencie that he neadethe nothynge of my comendation. I thynke that I maye boldelye saye that theie are two soche as the Quenes maiestie hathe not the lyke ....

At my arrivall at *St. Nicholas* I found two lettres wryttin by one *Chaynie*, one well knowne to the Companie & imployed by them in their affayres here, directed to the Embassadour of Englande to the Emperor of Russia. I founde in them other matter then I looked for, and see what practezes are vsed by soche as are & were their servants to owerthrowe this trade, of which by thys little that I have seen I haue better lykinge then at my beinge in Englande I cowlde be well perswaded of....

One matter I fynde in that lettre of *Chaynes* sore aggravated agaynst *Jenkenson*, as I beleue more then is cawse, as thoughe he sholde have dealete with this Prynce in some matter of mariage ether with this Emperour, which is vnlykelye, or with his Sone; th'one being maried, th'other farre vnfeete for suche a partie.[2] Of the fathers conditions this I have lerned, that of late he hathe beheaded no small number of his nobilitie, cawsinge their heads to be layde in the streats to see who durste beholde them or lamente their deathes. The Chancler he cawsed to be executed openlye, leavinge nether his wyff, chyldren or brother alive. Divers other have byne cutt in peeces by hys comandemente, departinge owte of the Courte to their owne howses withowte accusation or iudgemente, and in their owne thynkinge in the princes good grace and favour. Seinge, as I heare, he hathe longe attended an Embassadors comynge from the Quenes maiestie I intende to be with hym so sone as I cane speede as I maye, the beste I beleve wilbe ewle inoughe, the soner to be owte of hys Countrie whear heads goe so faste to the potte ....

Your honnor allwaye to commande

[1] Stephen.

[2] Negotiations were subsequently set on foot with the view to the marriage of Lady Mary Hastings with the Tzar, and Pissemsky was sent on an embassy to England to obtain an interview with that lady and report to his master on her personal and mental qualities Pissemsky's report has recently been published in the *Transactions of the Russian Hist. Soc.*, vol. xxxviii, 1883. The son here mentioned is the Tsarévitch Ivan, born March 28, 1554, *cf. ante*, p. 223, *note*.

I haue visited the monks of *St. Nicolas*;[1] theie are more in drinke then in vertu or sobrietie, full of superstition and in my iudgemente verie hypocrits, vnlearned in all thyngs: Lyttle shewe or apparance of Chrystian Religion more then the Bible in their owne tonge. Their howses and Churches full of Images paynted and their vsage towards them verie Idolatrus.

THO. RANDOLPHE.

Endorsed. To the right honorable Sir William Cecill, Knighte, principall Secretarie the Quenes maiestie.

THOMAS BANNISTER & GEOFFREY DUCKETT TO SIR. WM. CECIL.

[1568, *Aug.* 12.][2]

RIGHT honnorable, our humble dewties premissid, it may please your honnor to be advertysed that departinge from *Harweche* the secconnde daye of July we aryvid here in good saiftie, thanckes be vnto God, the Seconde of August. It might have bene sayllid in half the tyme if it had not bene by Contrary winds, fyndinge the viage to be one of the goodliest nayvegasions that ever was saillid the distanc considrede, if it be takine in dewe tymes of the yeare. We never caste the leade ower Boorde from the co[a]st of England till we came to an ancker here, fallinge with the goodliest co[a]sts and harborowes for shipps if nead requier that the lyke we have not seane, and by our Judgements if we waire to passe againe we wolde thincke our lyves more asshouride to come hether then yf we wayre to passe by sea frome *London* to *Andwarpe*. And further may it please your honnor to vnderstand that sence ower aryvinge here, havinge had full conference with ower Agent and Sarvaunts, as also by sertenne lettres receiued frome *Chayne* and *Sowtheham*,[3] our Sarvaunts lyenge at *Moskoe*, we fynde the estate of the Company to stande varye evill, as well towchinge the[i]re accompts as also with the Prence, whiche haith prosedide aponne very lewde

[1] *Cf. ante*, p. 191.

[2] *S. P.*, For. Eliz., No. 2415.

[3] Southam, whose narrative has been given above, pp. 190-206.

and vntrew pracketisés, in suche sort that if my Lord Imbassador[1] and we had not come the holle trayde had bene vtterlye overthrowen, and how it will doe yet we stande in dowte the matter being so farre past . . . .This trayde beinge throughlie entrideinto and orderly donne it will maynetene thirtie or fortie greate shippes suche as the lyke be not within the realme of marchants shipps, it will bread good marryners by reasonne of the distans, and maynetene a great nombar for the service of the realme, it will vent the most parte of our coullarid clothes, & in shorte tyme if neade requier all the Karsayes maid within the realme, whereby her maiesties subiectes may be sette a wourke and have vent for the same, how so euer her highnes stand with her nabowres abowte her, where heretofore they have bene vttride. It retornith home suche good and profetable waires as ower countrie cannot misse and noe vayne waires at [2] for the whiche waires in tymes past we ware devertid by the prenses Towens of the est parte, in such sorte as if they had dislykid of vs we could not have had them. It will furnyshe all her maiesties nayvie as well of Cabulls, cordaige, masts, Sayles, Pitche and tarr and such lyke furneture if order be gevine for the same in dew tyme, whereby her grayce is deliverid owt of Boudage of the Kinge of Denmarke, and the towen of *Danske*, which as your honnor knowith at this tyme dowth mysse vse her Maiesties subiectes, & of longe tyme haith donne if the trewth were knowen.[3] It makith the passaige into Percia whereby greate benneffit is lyke to insewe to her maiestie in cowstome & otherwyse to the Comon welth. It is a greate honnor vnto our Countrie to have suche a trayde privately to ower sealfs, where noe other nations haithe anye entrannce. And finallie is lieke to growe vnto greate profitte to the Compagnie if things may be put in order, throughly occupied and trewlie answerid, whiche will come to passe if vnder correction it wold please the quenes maiestie & her honnorable counsell to take Cayre of it and to commaunde the Compaigne so to deale that things may be

[1] Randolph. [2] Word omitted in MS.

[3] About this time (1568) the Muscovy Company entered into contracts to supply the Government with cables, cordage, etc.—See *Cal. S. P.*, For. Eliz., 1568, No. 2209.

orderly and Justlie donne as they will answere to the contrary, And that Justice may be donne aponne such as offende ether at home or here. The Esterlings, the Flamyngs, the Etallians, the Frenshemen & most nations haue practiesid how to prevent vs in this trayde, and haue cawside Prences to wryte vnto her maiestie, as your honnor well knoweth, for the staye thereof, whiche hetherto could nevar prevale till nowe by practise of her maiestes owne subiectes havinge as well joyned them sealfs with Strangers as it is thought as otherwyse. So that in ower simple opynyon vnder correction the dishonnor is so greate as it is not to be borne withall. Besyedes the losse of suche a trayed as the lyke will never be founde in all respectes. And besydes the honnor that will insewe by Bringinge the trayed of Spyces this waye, whereof we have better hope then ever we had, for that was lerned by sertine Percians that were at *Moskoe* the laste yeare. This matter of Percia towchit the Etallians and straungers verye neare, for the Etallians have had the holle trayed of silks and also moche spyces brought by the Venetians, the Flamings ; in lyke caise they have the stapill of all Spyces playsid at *Andwarpe* by the Portingales, whereof a greate parte is vtteride in England, so that if we might bringe the Spyces and silks this waye, they are all towchid, whiche they are not ignorant of. And therefore there haith wanted noe practise of long tyme for the overthrowe of this trayde....And whereby order of the compaigne *Bassington* was sent over to passe with vs into Persia, if we thowght it meite or otherwyse to be imployed for the diskoverie of the Passage to the northestwards at our discression, for as moche as we knowe not howe we shall stand with this prence, and that into Persia he canne dow vs no service exsepte it were to sette owt that whiche is alredie donne ; And cawllinge to remembrance the greate dissier your honnor haith had for the diskoverye to the estwards[1] & also be cause we wold have the matter powte owt of dowtt for savegard of further charges to the Compaigne, whoe mynded to sett fourth twoe Barks for the diskoverie of the same, which will not be donne with a thowsande pounde, We havinge consideration hereof have con-

[1] Possibly in consequence of Jenkinson's petitions, *cf. ante*, pp. 159, 177.

ferrid with ower maisters the *Borrowes*[1] and have taken suche instruckesons of them as is meate for the same, havinge also chosine owt twoe maryners[2] suche as they thinke apte men to joyne with *Bassington*, Myndinge to appointe the saide *Bassington* marryners and other interpreters, for the diskoverye to passe frome *Pechoray* in a Russe boite with the firste opyne wather in the springe alongst the co[a]st estwardes for the tryall of the said passaige, which wilbe donne with a smalle coste, and as ower masters saye to more purpose then if towe barks should be sett owt for the same, whereby we hope ether to fynde the same Strayte or otherwise to put it owt of Dowbt, so as the Compaigne shall save a thousand pounde that wold be spent for the trialle thereof....

From St. Nicollas the xiith daye of August in Anno. Dom. 1568.

Yr. honnors to commaund,

THOMAS BANNESTER.
GEOFFRYE DUCKETT.

THOMAS BANNISTER & GEOFFREY DUCKETT TO THE MUSCOVY CO.[3]

[1568, *August* 12.]

RIGHT worshipfull Sir and Sirs, it may please you to vnderstand that in our letter to the generallitie we have sertiffied them of suche matter as we thought neadfull the tyme and Playce consedred....

There is more matter wryttine in one letter of *Chany* then we send vnto your worshippes, be cawse it towcheth matter betwixt the Prences whiche becomyth vs not to medill with all but refar the same to my Lord imbassator, who upon furder examynacon when he comyth in playce will serteffie and deale as he seithe cawse: for the openynge of this matter vnto your worshippes we reffar you to the redinge of the letters herein closid, with this

[1] Stephen and William, *cf. ante*, p. 254.
[2] Woodcock and Brown, *cf. ante*, p. 251.
[3] *S. P.*, For. Eliz., No. 2417.

furder adission, that this matter semyth to be a playne practise and that of longer tyme then is yet knowen only to set varyence betwixt the Emperowre and the Body of the companye, to th'end they might compasse their wickid devyce. And they we[igh]ing the nature of the Prence have put suche matter into his head as they well knew wold not be consentid vnto, as playnely dowth appere by the woordes of *Ossipe Nepye*, spokine vnto Master *Rowley* afore his comynge from *Muskow*, which were theise, "*William*", saith he, "I fear me that *Anthony Jenkinsonne* hath put such matter in the Emperoures head which lyeth not in him to purfourme, which is not wyssly donne, for, saith he, when I was in England imbassatur for my Master, I was sent for vnto the King[1] and great parswasions maid vnto me to have delte in matters wherevnto I had no comyssion, and therefore by no meanes I wold not vnderstand in anye suche matter. The cheiff Dewke which dowth all in all with the Emperowre, who was with *Jenkinsonne* and the Emperowre in all the[i]re seccrett conference", saith he, "if he come and sertiffie the Emperowre frome the Quene then shall you haue what you will." Yt apperith that the Emperowre and the Dewke haith bene so anematid in this matters as they maid an acompte to haue there dissier acomplyshid, what the matters be we knowe not, but by coniecture of some matters whiche we haue sene and hard sence our comynge hether which is not for vs to medill withall. But if they be suche as we coniecture, he had bene a very simple man that could not haue answerid them at first sight so as he might haue cowte of[f] all displesour . . . . .where apon thie sartiffied the Emperoure and the Dewke that the companye had so practissid in England that they had of purpose brought *Jenkinsonne* in displeshure with the Quene onelie be cause he went abowte to furder the Emperors matters ; and also by the[i]re practisse the imbassator was also stayed, and so ashurid the Emperowre that no imbassator nor answere of the Emperours matters should come, whiche matter being beleuid of the Emperour and the Dewke, in displeshure of the same the Emperour hath grauntid them the[i]re previlges and intrest of ower howse . . . .

[1] Edward VI. Nepea, it will be remembered, returned to Russia with Jenkinson in 1557 ; *cf. ante*, p. 11, and Appendix A.

We vnderstand that *John Capell* is gonne for England, apon what practises we knowe not. But ower advyce is that nether he nor *Jenkinsonne* nor anye other be towchid or delt withall in this matter till we haue endid ower matters here, for if they should be stayed or delt withall, then wold it confereme the[i]re sainge here that they are punyshid for the Emperowres matters, whiche might both hassard your goodes and ower bodies and overthrowe the holle matter. So that our simple opynyons is, vnder correction and your better consederacon here in to be vsed, that this matter be opened vnto the honnorable councell, or so muche thereof as you shall thinke good, and to crave there ayed in this sorte, That it wold please her Maiestie to wryte vnto the Emperoure to reprove the[i]re false informacions, and to geve suche furder advyce vnto my Lorde imbassator as to her highnes shall seame good. And if [in] anye his requeste to her Maiestie there be anye one small matter that may be yielded vnto, that it wold please her Maiestie to haue consederacon of it, Seinge the matter somuch importeth ewery way as the caise standith. We he[a]re from the *Muskow*, by talke that hath passid there when they be in there cowppes, that the Emperowre should requier a hundreth Englishemen to be his garde for savegard of his person. If this should be so the matter is not greate, and myght be so handlid as it should not be the Quenes Maiesties acte, but passid by vs so as her maiestie might well answere it vnto all prences that they be suche men as hath passid in her. merchants shippes withowt her knowledge, and we thinke anne honnor to hire highnes and countrie that so myghtie a prence could be contentid to comet the garde of his bodye to her subiectes.....It is possible that *Jenkinsonne* haith not opened vnto the Quenes Maiestie all suche matter as the Emperoure gave him in comission, wherefore if hire Maiestie dow wryte againe it were good it were towched that her Maiestie by her embassator answered all matters that was bye *Jenkinsonne* opened vnto her, & if there were more matter thene her imbassator haith gevin in comyssion to answere that the same was not by *Jenkensonne* opened vnto her....

For provision to be maide, as well for this viage as the Persia viage for the next yeare, you must prepare it in tyme. Althoughe

you maike a new stocke for they may not be vnfurnyshid, and although the matter standith here as aforesaid, and so as we canne geve noe judgement howe things will fall owt but leve in good hope, seinge the Imbassador is come, whiche is the thinge the Emperowre most dissierid, but we se[e] no remedye but provission must be maid at adventure, sta[y]inge the shippinge thereof as longe as you canne for ower answere after we haue delte with the Emperor, then if it falle owt that we dow not conclude with th'emperour for the contenewance of the trade....

But we lyve in varye good hope to geve them the ouerthrowe and to stablish your trayde, and the better if you vse such deligence with the Councell that her Maiestie may geve further advertisment afore the ambassadors retowrne; the more hast is maid therin the better, for there may be dowt if we goe not well that he will staye the imbassador till her maiesties furder order, for so haith he donne with other ambassadors....

We are like to stey yet 20 dayes at *Colmagro* ere we cane departe; till the towen post of *Colmagro* and our poste retowrne from the Emperore we cane passe no fardar....

Your to commaunde,

Thomas Bannester.
Geoffry Duckett.

A Copie of the priuiledges graunted by the right high and mightie Prince, the Emperour of Russia, &c : vnto the right worshipful felowship of English Marchants, for the discouerie of new trades : and hither sent by Thomas Randolfe, Esquire, her Maiesties Embassadour to the said Emperour, and by Andrew Sauin, his Embassadour in the yeere of our Lord God, 1569.[1]

One God euerlasting and without end, and before the beginning, the Father, the Sonne, and the holy Ghost, the blessed Trinitie, our onely God, maker and preseruer of all things and replenisher of all things every where, who by thy goodnesse doth cause all men to loue the giuer of wisedome, our onely Mediator and leader of vs all vnto blessed knowledge by the only Sonne, his word, our Lorde Iesus Christ, holy and euerlasting Spirit ; and now in these our dayes teachest vs to keepe Christianitie and sufferest vs to enioy our Kingdome in the happie commoditie of our land and wealth of our people, in despite of our enemies and to our fame with our friends.

We *Iohn Vasiliwich*, by the grace of God great Lord Emperour and great duke of al *Russia*, *Volodemaria*, *Moscouia*, *Nouogrode*, Emperor of *Cazan*, *Tuerkie*, *Vgorskie*, *Permiskie*, *Votskie*, *Bulgaria*, and many others ; Lord and great duke of the low Countreis of *Nouogorode*, *Chernigoskie*, *Rasanskie*, *Polotiskie*, *Rastow*, *Yeraslaue*, *Bellosoro*, *Owderskie*, *Conduskie*, and all *Siberland*, Great commander of all the North parties, Lord of *Leifland*, and many other Northward, Southward and Westward.

[1] *Hakl.*, 1589, pp. 402-406. There are two drafts of these privileges in the State Paper Office (*S. P.*, *Domestic Eliz.*, vols. 54 and 196). One of these agrees with Hakluyt's version ; the other, and obviously the correct one, differs materially. We have adopted the best reading (vol. 54) wherever Hakluyt is wrong.

Whereas our sister *Elizabeth*, by the grace of God Queene of England, Fraunce and Ireland, defender of the faith, hath written vnto vs her letters for her marchants, who hath made suite that we should graunt our goodnes to the Marchants which are of one Companie, and giue them free leaue to come to trafique in our kingdome of *Colmogorode* and to the Countrey of *Dwina*, and to our great Citie of *Moscouia*, and to all the cities in our Dominions and through our Countrey to *Boghar*, to *Persia*, *Casbine* and *Chardaye*,[1] and to all other Countreis.

1. We *Iohn Vasiliwich*, Emperour and great duke of all *Russia* (for our sister *Elizabeths* sake, Quene of Englande) haue giuen and graunted to the English Marchants, the Gouernours, Consuls, assistants and felowship, Sir *Wil. Garrard*, Knight, *Rowland Hayward*, Alderman, *Iohn Thamworth*, Esquire, *Iohn Riuers*, Alderman, *Henry Beacher*, Alderman, Consuls. Sir *Wil. Chester*, Knight, *Edward Iackman*, Alderman, *Lionel Ducket*, Alderman, *Edward Gilbert*, *Laurence Huse*, *Francis Walsingham*, *Clement Throgmorton*, *Iohn Quarles*, *Nicholas Whealer*, *Thomas Banister*, *Iohn Harrison*, *Francis Burneham*, *Anthony Gamage*, *Iohn Somers*, *Richard Wilkinson*, *Iohn Sparke*, *Richard Barne*, *Robert Woolman*, *Thomas Browne*, *Thomas Smith*, *Thomas Allen*, *Thomas More*, *William Bully*, *Richard Yong*, *Thomas Atkinson*, Assistants. *Iohn Mershe*, Esquire, *Ieffrey Ducket*, *Francis Robinson*, *Matthew Field*, and all the rest of their Companie and fellowship, and to their successors and deputies, to come with ships and other vessels into our Country at *Colmogorod* and *Dwina*, and to all the North parts now being ours, or that hereafter shall at any time be in our possession by sea, riuer or land, euen to our great Citie of *Mosco*, in al the townes of our Countrey, to *Cazan* and *Astracan*, to *Nouogorode* the great, to *Plasko* and *Leifland*, *Vriagorod*,[2] to *Narue*, and all other townes of *Leifland*; 2, And to passe through our land to *Boghar*, *Persia*, *Casbin*, *Chardaye* and other Countries; And wheresoeuer they come, there to be and abide freely, and to barter and bargaine freely all wares of sale, without custome of all people and marchants strangers whatsoeuer.

[1] Cathay. [2] Ivangorod.

And if so be they bring any fine wares out of England, or any other Countrey from *Boghar*, *Persia*, *Casbine*, or from any other place, and those their wares that come by the way of *Narue* or any other parte into our Dominion, to bring ye same wares into our treasure, & our Treasurers to view the same wares and to take into our Treasurie of the same such as shalbe needefull for vs. And all such wares as we shal not need, our Chancellour to redeliuer ye same: And after the view of our Chancellour to barter it freely to whome they will, not selling any of their wares needfull for vs before our Chancellour haue seene the same. And all other grosse and heauy wares that shalbe needfull to our vse, not being brought to *Mosco*, to declare and tell our Chancel lour of the same wares: And to giue a note thereof by name and how much they leaue there, not brought to *Mosco*: and then if we neede not the said wares, the English Marchants, their seruants & Factors, to conuey their wares the neerest way to *Vstiuge* the great[1] and so to *Colmogorod* or elsewhere at their pleasure, there to barter and sell the same. But those wares that shalbe needeful for our Treasurie, they shall not hide from vs in any case.

And when our Chancellour shall send our aduenture with the said Marchants or their Factors, they to take our aduentures with them, and to sell and to barter for such wares as shalbe meete for our Treasurie, and to returne it into our Treasurie.

And when wee shall sende any aduenture into England, then our Chancellour to giue them a yeeres warning, that their ships may be prouided thereafter, that by taking in of our wares, they leaue not their owne behinde them.

And to take our Aduenture yeerely when they goe into *Persia*.

Neither shall ye English marchants reced[e] or colour any of our peoples goods, nor barter nor sel it in any wise: likewise our people not to barter for the said English marchants, or occupy[2] for them.

3. And when they shall come into our Empire of *Cazan* and *Astracan* and other places of our Dominions, then our Captaines of *Cazan* and *Astracan*, and other authorised people, quietly to let

[1] *I.e.*, Veliki Ustiug, *cf. ante*, p. 24.

[2] To employ, *i.e.*, to serve as agents to them, *cf.* St. Luke xix, 13.

them passe, not taking any toll or custome of their wares, nor once to make search therof.

And when we shall send no aduenture with them, yet to suffer them freely to passe, not viewing their wares, nor taking any kinde of custome. And whatsoeuer English marchant will bargaine with our Marchants or Factors, ware for ware, to barter the same at their pleasure.

And whatsoeuer their Marchant or Factors wil sel their wares at their house at *Mosco*, which house I granted them at *S. Maxims* at the *Mosco*, they to sel ye ware to our people, either strangers as they may best vtter it; keeping within their house arshines, measures and waights vnder seales.

4. We haue graunted them the said house at *S. Maxims* in Moskoo[1] free and without standing rent, as heretofore we did graunt it the said English Marchants, *sir Wil. Gerrard* and the Companie[2] maintayning in the said house one housekeeper, a *Russe*, and two *Russe* seruants or some of their owne countrey men, and none other *Russes* besides they aforesaid. And the said housekeepers that shall liue at their house with the English marchants, neither to b[u]ye nor sel any wares for them; but that the said marchants themselues or their factors shall bye, sell and barter their owne wares; And our *Muscouie* marchants not to take the said Englishmens wares to sell them in our townes, nor to bye any wares for them, neither the English marchant to colour any *Russes* wares at any towne.

5. And whatsoeuer English marchant wil sel his wares at *Colmogor*, *Dwyna*, *Vologda*, *Yeraslaue*, *Costron*,[3] *Nouogrode* the lower, *Casan*, *Astracan*, *Nouogrode* the great, *Vopska*, the *Narue*, *Vriagorod*, or at any owre townes, they to sel their wares there at their pleasure. And of al wares, as well of other countreis as of *Russia*, no Captaine nor officer to take any custome, neither in any place to stay them in any wise, neither take any kinde of toll of them for their wares whatsoeuer.

6. And whatsoeuer marchant shal bargaine or b[u]ye any wares,

[1] Hakluyt and the MS. referred to above have "in the halfe free", which is nonsense.

[2] *Cf.* Priuileges, *ante*, p. 233.

[3] Kostroma, *cf. ante*, *ibid.*

of English marchants: The said *Russe* not to returne those wares vpon the merchants handes againe, but to giue readie money for the said wares, otherwise they to craue the Iustice to giue right and to execute the lawe vpon the same with all expedition. And when the English marchants or factors shal trauaile from *Mosckoo* after the dispatche of their wares and busines, then to shewe themselues vnto our Chancellour. Whatsoeuer wares of theirs shall goe from *Mosco*, they not to shewe the same wares to any of our officers, nor pay anye custome or toll in any place.

7. If it so happen the English marchants haue any wracke and the shippes be brought to any port of our Dominions, we to command the saide goods to be enquired and sought out, and to bee giuen to the English marchants, being here abiding at that time in our Countrey, theyre factors, seruants, or deputies of the Companie aforesaid, to whom we haue granted this our gratious letter.

And if there happen none of those English marchants, factors, seruants, or deputies to bee in our Countreis at such time, then we will all the said goods to be sought out and bestowed in some conuenient place, and when any of the Companie aforesayd written within this our letter shall come for their goods, we to commaund their goods to be restored vnto them.

8. Likewise wee haue granted leaue to the English marchants, their Gouernours, Consuls, and assistants, namely, *Sir William Gerrard*, Knight, *Rowland Hayward*, and the Companie, to builde houses at *Vollogda*, *Colmogro*, and the seaside, at *Iuangorode*, at *Cherell*,[1] and in all other places of our Dominions as shall bee needefull for their trade. And they to keepe at the saide house one housekeeper, a *Russe*, and two or three men to keepe their wares at the said houses, making sale thereof to whome they will, they, their Factors or deputies: the said housekeeper not to buy nor sell for them.

9. Also we haue giuen and graunted to the English Marchants that their house, which they have by our goodnesse at *S. Maximes* in the *Zempskie*,[2] and other their houses in owre townes of the

[1] Kebela (?) or Kobela, near Pskof.—*Cf.* Jenkinson's and Wied's (1555) maps.

[2] *Zemski*, or national, one of the two divisions which Ivan arbitrarily made of Russia.

Zempskie,[1] made for the better assurance of their goods, and all such as they shall set vp hereafter shalbe of the *Oprishenye*, and will make them knowen to all them of *Oprishenye*.[2]

Or chosen side.

10. And whereas by our goodnes we haue graunted them a Ropehouse at *Vologda*, being farre from the English Marchants house, nowe we giue them leaue to builde a house for that vse by the said English house, and haue giuen and graunted them (of our goodnesse) ground, one hundreth and fourescore fadomes in length, and fiftie fadomes in breadth, accordinge to their owne request.

11. Also we haue of our goodnesse giuen and graunted to the English marchants, leaue to buy them a house at *Witchida*,[3] and there to search out mines of yron. And where they shall happily finde it, there to set vp houses for the making of the sayd yron, and to make the same, and of our goodnesse haue graunted them woods, fiue or six miles in compasse about the said houses, to the making of theire yron, and not to exceede those bounds and limits: And where they shall cut the saide wood, not to set vp any village or farme there; bringing the artificers for making of their yron out of their owne Countrey and to learne our people that arte, and so freely to occupy the saide yron in these our Dominions, transporting also of the same home into England, allowing for euery powde[4] weighte one dengo,[5] or Mosckoo pennie.

12. And if any of the said yron shalbe needfull for our workes, then we to take of the saide yron to our worke, vpon agreement of price, paying money out of our Treasurie for the same. And when the said English Marchants or Factors shall send their owne

[1] Hakluyt has "in the towne of Zenopskie", as if there were a particular town of this name. Karamsin (vol. ix, p. 617, *note*) followed him in this curious blunder. The correct reading is that given in our text, as it stands in the original MS.

[2] Opritchniya, or reserved part of Russia, the Emperor's peculiar property. Bannister writes: "So that being of the *oppris*, may no man of *Esemskye* dare meddle with the English."—*Cf. infra.*

[3] *I.e.*, in the valley of the river Vychegda, a right affluent of the Dvina, abounding in iron ore. There is no place of that name.

[4] Hakluyt has "pound"; the Russian "pood"= 36 lb. English.

[5] = ½*d.* English, *cf.* p. 227.

people out of our Realme into their Countrey ouer land through any Countrey whatsoeuer, freely to send the same withowte wares.

13. Also we of our goodnesse haue graunted that if any man misuse the saide English, theyr Factors or seruants; Or the saide English Marchants, their Factors or seruants abuse any other at *Mosckoo* or any other our townes whatsoeuer within our Dominions, in trade of Marchandise or otherwise, then they to haue vpright iustice in all such matters of our counsaile the *Oprishenye* without all let or delay. But if our Iustices may not agree the parties, then lots to be made, and to whose lotte it shall fall, to him the right to be giuen, and that onely our counsaile at *Mosckoo*, and none of our Captaines or authorised people or officers in any other our townes, giue iudgement vpon the said English Marchants for anything.

14. Also if any stranger shal haue matter of controuersie with any English Marchant, Factor or seruant, abiding within this our Realme; or contrary wise, any English Marchant, Factor, or seruant, against any other stranger; in all those causes our Counsaile of the *Oprishenye* to giue them Iustice and to make agreement & ende betweene the parties without all delaye; And none to deale therein saue our Counsaile of the *Oprishenye*. 15. And if any man haue action against any English Marchant, being absent, that then in his absence it shalbe lawful for any other Englishman at his assignation to answere his cause.

16. If any Englishman happen to be wounded or beaten to death, or any *Russe* or stranger slaine or beaten to death. 17. Or any stollen goods to be found in the saide English houses, then our Counsellers to cause the guiltie persons to be sought out, and to doe right and Iustice in the cause; and the partie that is guiltie, if he deserue punishment, to be corrected accordingly after his offence; that the said English Marchants, factors, and seruants sustaine thereby no hinderance or damage.

18. And whatsoeuer English Marchant, Factor, seruant, or deputie shalbe guiltie of any fault deseruing our displeasure, then our Counsailers to cause the guiltie partie to goe vnder suerties, and their goods to be sealed and kept, vntill our pleasure bee further knowen, and our Counsaile to examine of the offence, and

so to report it vnto vs, then wee too command what shall bee done therein, and none other to be arrested or haue their goods sealed which are not guiltie of that offence, nor to stay or apprehend them in any of our Dominions for the same.

19. If any English Marchant, Factor, or seruant shal offend, it shalbe lawfull for their Agent to doe iustice vpon the said partie, or to send him home into England at his pleasure.

20. If any English Marchant, Factor, or seruant haue lent or hereafter shall lende money to any of our people, or credit them with wares, and so depart into any forreigne Countrey, or die before the debt bee due to be paide, then our people and Marchants to paye the saide debt to whome soeuer shall be appointed to the said roome or charge, and the said English Marchant, factor, or seruant to bring his bill of debt to our Counsell, to shewe them what is due, and what money is owing them for any wares: and thus to doe truly, not adding any whit to the debt, and our Counsel to command the debt to be discharged vnto the English Marchant, factor, or seruant without delay.

21. And whatsoeuer English Marchant shall be arrested for debt, then our Counsell to command the partie vnder arrest to be deliuered to the Agent: and if he haue no sueretie, to bind the Agent with him for the better force of the bond.

And if any English marchant be endebted, we will the creditor not to cast him in prison, or to deliuer him to the Sergeant, lest the officer abvse him, but to take ware in pawne of the debt.

22. Also of our goodnes we haue granted the English Marchants to send our Commission to all our Townes, too officers, Captaines, and authorized men to defende and gard the saide Marchants from all theeues, robbers, and euill disposed persons.

23. If in comming or going to and fro our dominions, the Merchants, theyre factors, or seruants be spoiled on the sea by rovers: our Counsell shall send our letters, and will them to be sought out, and where they shall finde the goods, cause it to be restored vnto them againe and the offender to be punished, according to our commandement.

24. Also of our goodnes we haue granted the saide Merchants to take vp Brokers, Packers, Wayers and such like labourers as

shall be needefull for them, paying for their hier as the laborers and they shall agree.

25. We likewise of our goodnes haue licensed the English Merchants in our Townes of *Mosko*, *Nouogorode* the great, and *Plasko*,[1] that owre Coiners of the said Townes shall melt Dollers and coine money for them without custome, allowing for coales and other necessaries with the workemanship.

26. Also of our goodnes wee haue granted the said English Merchants to take poste horse at needefull times, leauing with our officers a note how many they take, and not else ; and in no case hindering or diminishing our treasurie.

27. Also for our sister Queene *Elizabeths* sake, we of our goodnes haue granted to the merchants within written in this our letter, and to their successors, that no Englishman nor any other stranger come without the Quenes leaue to *Colmogor*, the riuer *Obb*, *Varzagye*,[2] *Pechora*, *Cowlaye*,[3] *Meseyne*,[4] *Pechengowe*,[5] *Zolovetskyes* Iland,[6] the riuer of *Shame*,[7] nor to none other hauen of *Dwina*, nor to any part of the northside of *Dwina*, by hether *Wardhouse*, into any hauen with shippe, Busse, or any other vessell, nor to occupie in any kind of wies, but onely the said English Companie and their successors, to whome we of our goodnes haue granted this priuiledge.

28. Also that no English Merchant, without the Queenes leaue, shall come with any wares to the *Narue* or *Vriagorode*.[8]

29. And whatsoeuer English Merchant, stranger, or other of whatsoeuer Countrey he be, shall come with shippe, Busse or any other vessell, to any of the Sea hauens of the north side, to any part of *Dwina*, the *Narue* or *Vriagorode*, without the Queenes leaue or knowledge, not being of the Company aboue written, wee to apprehende and take the same vessell from those strangers and Merchants, the one halfe to vs, Emperour and

[1] Pskof.
[2] Varziga or Varzukha, *cf.* Jenkinson's and Burrough's maps.
[3] Kola.
[4] Mezen.
[5] Pechenga.
[6] Solovetsky.
[7] Probably the River Souma, in Onega Bay.
[8] Ivangorod, on the right bank of the Narova, opposite Narva.

great Duke, the other halfe to the Companie of English Merchants.

30. Also of our goodnes we haue granted the said companie of English merchants that no English merchants or strangers shall passe through our dominions to *Boghare*, *Persia*, *Casbin*, *Chaaddaye*[1] or to other Countries, saue only the Companie of English merchants and our owne messengers.

31. Also whatsoeuer Englishman comming out of England or any other Countrey into our dominions without the Queens leaue and knowledge, not being of the said Companie of Marchants written in these our letters, mind and purpose to abide in our Realme, contrary to the Queenes will and pleasure, or any way abuse himselfe; the Agent shall freely send him home to the Queene his Soueraigne: which, if the Agent of himselfe be vnable to do, let him pay for aide of the Captaines and officers of Townes there being, and so send him to prison. And will the saide Captaines not to hinder the said Agent from sending home such euill persons into England.

32. And if any man within our Countrey runne away to any other towne or place, the English merchants and factors to haue free libertie to apprehende him and take their goods from him againe.

33. And as for our priuiledge giuen to *Thomas Glouer*, *Ralphe Rutter*, *Christopher Bennet*, *John Chappell*, and their adherents, we haue commanded the same priuiledges to be taken from them.

34. Also we of our goodnes haue granted the said Company of English merchants, their successors, seruants, and deputies, that doe or shall remaine at *Musko*, or elsewhere within our dominions, freely to keepe their owne lawe; and in no wise none of ours to force them to our lawe and faith against their wills.

Moreouer, besides and with the companie of English merchants, we permit all strangers to trade to our towne of *Narue*, *Vriagorode*, and to other our townes of *Liefland*, as they haue done before time frealie. From the beginning of the world 7077.[2] in the moneth of

[1] Cathay.

[2] Era of Constantinople.

June 20. indiction 12. the yeere of our Lordship and reigne 35. and of our Empire of Rusland 23. Casan 17. Astracan 15.

Endorsed: Priviledg granted to the Righte Worshipfull Compaignie of Merchants, Aduenturers, Discouerers of newe trades, obtayned by the late Embassadour, *Thomas Randolphe*, from the Queenes Maiestie, his Soueraigne, to the Emperor of Russia. An. Dom. 1569, Julii 10.

Other speciall graunts by his Maiesties priuate letters at the suite of Master *Randolph*, Embassadour:—

Releasement out of prison of *Fitzherbert*, that was accused for writing of letters against the Emperour.

Liberty giuen to *Thomas Greene*,[1] that was accused and troubled vpon suspition of his dealing with the Embassadour, and license giuen to him to traffique as he was accustomed.

Andrew Atherton[2] and his sureties released at the *Narue* and his seruaunt at the *Mosko*, that were in trouble for sending the merchants letters into England.

A letter graunted to *Thomas Southam*[3] to the counsaile for iustice against them that stole the pearles.

His Maiesties fauour promised to the Artificers, and liuings to be appointed them as they can best deserue.

A letter to the merchants[4] that went into Persia to passe freely without impeachment in his dominions, as also letters of fauour to the great *Shawe* of Persia.

A graunt vnto the Companie that at what time soeuer they send to the discouery of *Cataya*, they shalbe licensed to repaire vnto this countrey, and haue such conducts and guides, marriners, vessels, Men and victuals as they shall stand in neede of.

[1] Green was an assayer by profession. He was sent to Russia with other craftsmen by Elizabeth in 1567, at the request of Ivan. Green died in that country, his wife and chfldren returning to England with Sir Jerom Bowes.

[2] *Cf. ante*, p. 216, *note*.

[3] *Ante*, p. 190.

[4] *I.e.*, Bannister and Ducket.

It is also promised by *Kneez Alfanas*[1] and *Peter Gregoriwich*,[2] in the Emperours name, that if *Benet*, *Butler*,[3] or any Englishman complaine, deface, hinder in way of traffique, or otherwise goe about to discredite the worshipfull companie and their doinges, that therein they shall not bee h[e]arde, and the doers to bee punished, as in such cases they shalbee iudged to haue deserued.

Certaine persons graunted to be sent home into England that serued the Company and were practisers against them in that countrey.[4]

[1] Prince Athanasius Ivanovitch Viazemsky.

[2] Peter Gregorief. See *infra*, p. 281.

[3] Probably a misprint for Rutter.

[4] A copy of the above grant of Privileges is preserved in the Archives of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs at Mosco.

The greate causes of offence given to the English Ambassador, Thomas Randolph, from the Queenes Maiestie to th'Emperor of Russia for the tyme of his beinge there in the yere 1568.[1]

First, that it was forbidden by the Chancellor that none of his countreye men, the Quenes Maiesties subiects, shoulde mete him or receiue him into the Towne of *Mosco*, which accordinglie fell out as was commaunded, sauinge that Master Doctor *Reynoldes*, with three or foure craftesmen, mett him with hazard of displeasure.

Next, that from the first of his arryuall at *Mosco*, which was the xvth of October 1568, vntill the xxth of Februarye, which day he had presence of th'emperor, he was so straightlie kepte within his howse as thoughe he and all his had byn committed prisoners, with suche uncourtoyse vsage of the Sergeaunt that kept them as worse coulde not haue byn shewed to an enemy.

Thirdlie, that such lettres as were sent vnto him from the Quene his Soueraignes affaires in speciall [ ][2] of his Legation were kepte from him, and cowlde never be gotten at their handes that had them, but interpreted by him[3] that moste trayterouslie hath vsed him selfe against the Quene his Soueraigne.

Fourthelie, that such lettres as the Ambassador wrot[e] into Englande for the Quenes Maiesties affaires to certaine of her Maiesties Councellors, and were sent by the saide Ambassador to the *Narue* to be sent into Englande, were taken, and as though the matters conteyned in them were verie haynouse, the saide Ambassador was charged to haue written treasone in them against the Emperour, which beinge proved false, and *Bennet*, the forger thereof, required to be punished, therfore beinge present before

[1] MS. Lansd., 10, 34.
[2] Word omitted in MS.
[3] *I.e.*, by Rutter, mentioned above.

Knes Offanassic, *Peter Gregorwich*, and this Ambassador, no thinge was saide vnto him, but he dismissed, and my lettres open delivered vnto me againe, translated by *Rutter* before named.

Fifthlie, that after my leaue taken of th'emperor, which was the Wednesdaie after dynner at *Vologda*, beinge the xxiiiith of June, I was commaunded the Saturdayes morning to departe presentlie, which was much soner then I cowlde be in a redynes, and was threatened to haue my baggage throwen out of the do[o]res, this Ambassador[1] him selfe being the messenger.

What other discourtesies I receiued, for that theie were muche Lighter than these, vsed as well to my selfe as to my companie, I thinke them rather to be passed ouer, then to conceale suche as embase the credit of anny Ambassador sent from his Soueraigne Maister or Maistres.

Thos. Randolp[h] to the Emperor.[2]

[1569, *April* 12.]

Ffor as myche moste noble Emperour as I knowe assuredlye that the Quene my Soueraigne hathe wrytten her erneste lettres vnto the[e] agaynst *Glouer* and *Rutter*, and divers other of her subiects for diuers crimes of treason comytted agaynst her and her Realme, and also for that I haue my self to accuse them of diuers offences commytted agaynst thy self, I request, in the Quene my mestres name, that *Glouer* and *Rutter*, beinge her[e] present, may be compelled presentlye to answer suche crimes as presently I will charge them with, and that *Bennet*, *Birket*, and *Capell* maye be sent for to answer the same. And bycawse *Glouer* and *Rutter* do refuse to fynyshe their accompts with the marchants sent owte of Englande for that purpose, and haue greate sommes of monie in their hands wich theie refuse to paye, I desier thy Maiestie that theie may be compelled to furnyshe their recknynge, and such Justice maye be

[1] *I.e.*, Savin.
[2] MS. Lansd., 10, f. 134.

had vppon them as grevous offenders to their Soueraigne, and shamefull deceavers of their maisters who dyd put them in to russi. Most Noble Emperour, I beseche the[e] to here my petition with all expedition and favour.

Mosco, the xiith of Aprill. T. R.

Endorsed: The coppie of a Lettre to the Emperour of Russia, from Tho. Randolphe.[1]

[1] There are several letters in the *State Papers* referring to Randolph's embassy. On the 26th April 1569, the Russia Company wrote to him with reference to arrangements for his return voyage from St. Nicholas. They had given order that good provisions should be shipped for him, "good bysquyte and good beveraige", not the poor stuff he had complained of in the outward voyage. "And for your paines taken in our affaires", they conclude, "doubte you not but that the same be so well taken and shalbe so thankefullye considered, as your Lordeshippe shall haue good occasion of contentement"... This letter is signed by William Garrard and William Chester (*MS. Lansdowne*, 11). Randolph himself appears to have been better satisfied with the result of his mission than he had reason to expect from its opening. In a letter, dated "Upon the wild seas, aboard the *Harrye*, 15th August 1569, Between Skewtesnes in Norway and Shetland, the pole elevated 60 degrees", he writes to Lord Hunsdon that "he has returned thus far from his long journey, having brought with him an Ambassador from the Emperor (of Russia), a man of good calling and well esteemed of His Highness. His train is about three score persons. What his doings will be, and how he will govern himself who now comes into a new world and school of manners, they will know by the issue. Worse entertainment there was never shown to any than to himself for a long time, but in the end he sped right well" (*Cal. S. P.*, For. Eliz., 1569-71). On the 22nd April 1570, he writes to Cecil that "he is loath that his whole labour should come to nought and that they should lose the trade of Russia after so many years possession. He is advertised by Sir W. Garret of strange things that the Emperor has done to the honestest kind of factors there. Thinks that if his ambassador [*i.e.*, Savin] be well dismissed, and his requests so answered as may give his master good cause of liking of England, all that ever was promised shall be performed" (*ibid.*).

Tsar Iuan to Queen Elizabeth.

[20 *Junii*, 1569.][1]

Instructions to the Ambassadour of Russia to Queens Maiestie in manner of a letter.

Euerie good guift commeth from aboue, &c.

Wee, great Lord and vpholder, Emperour, &c.

Our sister Elizabeth, by the grace of God, &c.

For that you sent to vs your Ambassadour, *Thomas Randolph*, with lettres, which letters wee vnderstand; also we beare in minde your letters written the yere past, in September[2], and ye beare in minde our highnes letters sent to you with our welbeloved seruant, *Anthonie Jenkinson*, in the which our letters[3] you know our pleasure towardes your subiects for your sake, which wee haue inquired, sought out and doe vnderstand of our highnes good will and great fauour, and that you wilbe of one minde with vs, even so hereafter your successors shall not forgett our highnes good will; and to make our highnes good will better knowen, our affaires shall not be wightie to you, for that you sent youre great Ambassadour about the affaires that wee haue now in hand, your welbeloved and faithfull servaunt, *Thomas Randolphe*, whose faithfulnes wee well vnderstand, who hath accomplished of your highnes affaires in other landes, as wee well knowe. And for that you thought our highnes would like well of him, for that he was a man of great wisdome and experience who was meete to knowe our highnes secret. Therefore your highnes hath sent this oratore[4] to vs to open all matter in your name, for that you doe thinke our highnes will beleeue him. We lett you knowe that we haue receiued this Ambassadour, and haue giuen him hearing, and that wee haue read

[1] MS. Cotton, Nero B. viii, f. 4. The original Russian letter, of which the above is a contemporary translation, is also preserved among the Cotton MSS. (Nero B. xi, 90). It is the oldest Russian letter from the Tsar in England.—See *Hamel*, p. 199; *Tolstoi*, No. 20.

[2] In Latin, dated from Windsor 16th September 1568; *Tolstoi*, No. 16.

[3] *Ante*, p. 238, *note*.

[4] *I.e.*, envoy entrusted with a verbal message.

ouer your, our sisters, letters, wee well vnderstand them, and what your commission was with him hath beene brought befoure our face. Further, your trustie and faithfull Ambassadour, *Thomas Randolphe*, wee haue receiued him accordinge to the manner and custome of receiuinge Ambassadours, euen as betweene you and mee brotherhood and frendshippe should bee, and wee sent our councellor and captaine, Duke *Alfonas Euanowich Vazanskie*,[1] and our secretarie, *Petro Gregoria*,[2] to giue answere, and to furnishe your Ambassadge, as it is meete our brotherhood and frendshippe to continewe. And they, accordinge to our commandement with you[r], our sisters, Ambassadour, *Thomas Randolphe*, haue agreed vppon the same, wherefore we haue sent to thee againe, our sister, your Ambassadour, and with him our trustie and faithfull gentleman who is neare about our person, *Andrew Gregorowitch Sauiena*,[3] and with him our Secretarie, *Symon Sebastana*,[4] and of all our affaires to thee, our Sister, wee haue giuen commission to our Ambassadour, *Andrew Gregorowich Sawina*, with your Ambassadour, *Thomas Randolphe*, how loue and frendshippe should continewe between us, and that peace maie continew betwixt both [realms] for encrease of our common wealthes.

Further, that it would please your highnes to think no vnkindness that wee keept your ambassadour so longe from our presence. The reason thereof he was so longe keept backe was when I lett departe youre messinger *Anthonie Ienkinson*, and those our affaires committed vnto him to speake by worde of mouthe when the time was come that wee did looke for aunswere by *Anthonie* againe, we h[e]arde no worde of him, and as then your ambassadoure [Randolph] was not come. But your messenger, *George Middleton*, was come to the *Marue* [Narva], and with him manie other[s], naminge themselues to be your messingers, and wee willed to enquire of them whether your, our sisters, messenger *Anthonie* were come to youre presence, and whether they had anie thinge to saie to vs of the messaidge, or whether *Anthonie* should come, or

[1] Athanasius Ivanovich Viazemsky.
[2] Peter Gregorief.
[3] Andrew Gregorowitch Savin.
[4] Simon Sebastianoff.

anie other in his stead; and they beinge embrased with pride, would make vs no aunswere, that they would not come to our neare and priuie counsaile, and would make them priuie of none of theire affaires; all that they saide was of marchunt affaires, and settinge our highnes affares aside, as it is the use of all countries that princes affaires should be first ended, and after that to seeke a gaine.

And your ambassadour, *Thomas Randolphe*, when he was come, was keept from our presence; in like manner wee sent to him fiue or six times, that he would come to our counsaile for so muche that wordes that wee willed[1] to be spoken to thee, our sister, by *Anthonie*, and that it was not meete that those affaires should be oppened; and your ambassadour would not goe to our counsaillers to giue aunswere of the secrite affaires, vppon which that occasion he was longe delaied.

But when your ambassadour had seen our eies, and had shewed to our counsaile what affaires was committed to him, and that he had commission of that I sent to thee by *Anthonie*, then wee shewed our gratious fauour to him, and then wee beganne to haue to doe in those affaires, and endinge those affaires, wee haue sent your ambassadour to you, our sister, and with him our ambassadour, *Andrew Gregoriwich Sauina*. And for that you sent your letters by *George Middletone*, your messinger, with the marchunts[2] of trade of marchandize and of accomptes, wee haue committed that matter to our counsailer and captaine of *Vologerie*,[3] Duke *Alfonas*, *Euanowich Vasemskie*, with *Thomas*, your ambassadour, that they should seeke the right; and your marchaunts did reckon with those marchaunts *Thomas Glouer*, that is with vs in our realme, and they could not come to anie agreement, and wee, vppon that occasion of accomptes, have sent into thy Kingdome *Thomas Glouer*, with our ambassadour, *Andrew Gregoriwich*, that the marchaunts maie accompte there with him.

To thee, our sister, Quene Elizabeth, as concerninge the mar-

[1] In the original Russian, "for that we would know on what affairs he was come".

[2] Bannister and Ducket.

[3] Vologda.

chaunts *Glouer*, *Rutter* and *Bennett*, wee haue giuen commission to our ambassadour, *Andrew Gregoriwich Sauina*, in what soever those marchaunts be guiltie before thy highnes, that it would please thee for our sake to shew fauour vnto them, and to take awaie thy displeasure from them, for that those marchaunts, *Glouer* and *Rutter*,[1] in these affaires were the first beginnors how betweene thee and me brotherhood and frendshippe should be.

Wee haue giuen to thy marchaunts, at thie request, a priuiledge to traffique thorrowe our realme, and to passe with merchaundize thorrowe our realme into other realmes, accordinge to the[i]r supplicacons; and wee haue taken our priuiledge from the marchaunts *Thomas* [*Glouer*] and *Raphe* [*Rutter*], and theire fellowshippe, which was giuen to them for the loue and friendshippe of thee, our sister. Priviledge.

Our letter, written in the Empire of Muscouia, at our auncient towne of *Vologdaye*, from the beginning of the world seuen thousand seauentie and seauen, the xxth of June, fuortieth of our age, the xxxth yere of our Lordshippe, and the 23 yere of our Empire, since the wynning of *Casane* xvii yere, and of *Astrecane* xv yere.

Maister Thomas Bannester and Maister Duckett to the Counsail.[2]

[25 *Junij* 1569.]

That they being deputed to the Emperor of Russia to settle the Marchants and trade there, as they should find it conuenient, but yet notwithstanding that it was her Maiesties pleasure the company, their seruunts, and all should conforme themselues to their directions, found they such resistance and oppositions from the Agent, and all the rest of the society, that they wrought by some nere about the Emperor so powerfully that they were kept shoot vp in a house from 16. of October vntil the 9. of February, afore they could come to the Emperors presence. In which time he receiued

[1] Glover accompanied Jenkinson on his first voyage to Russia in 1557, and Rutter served as his interpreter on that occasion.

[2] MS. Cott., Nero B. xi, f. 333: also *Cal. S. P.*, For. Eliz., No. 309.

the 2. letters sent by waye of the *Narue*, whereby his Maiestie was otherwise persuaded, gaue them gratious hearing, and since the like entertainement, is greatly inclined to the Quenes Maiestie, no prince more, as may be perceiued out of the priuiledges he granted vnto them. First, that no Nation stranger shall trauell through his Dominions into Media and Persia, but only the Company ; he hath forbidden all Nations for coming into any his North partes sauing the Company, vppon peine of losse of bodies, shipps, and goods, which was before, but not so amply as now it is; he hath giuen them a mine of iron, with wood and ground to make the same six miles compasse, lying hard by the waterside, and [this] is like to growe to great commoditie both to the company and to our country. He hath giuen them ground at *Narue* to build a house on, and ground in his Towne of *Voladay*,[1] to place a rope house ioyning to their owne house, and hath taken all their houses in to the *Opprisnay*, being to be vnderstood his chosen side of his people, and that all their causes shalbe hurd and iudged in his honorable Court of *Opprisnay*, which doth deliuer them out of much bondage of his Courte of *Esemsekye*, so that being of the *Opprisnay*, no man of *Esemsekye* dare meddle with them, or offer them any wrong. He commanded *Thomas Glouer*, hauing a great stocke of the Companies goods in his hands, to accompt with them, and made him enter in to bondes to stand to the Merchants iudgement. The late priuiledges granted to *Christophur Bennet*, *Thomas Glouar*, *Raphe Rutter*, and *Iohn Chappell*, who had ioyned them selues with *Jacob de la folia*, and other Dutchmen, to overthrow the Companie. They asked the Emperor nothing but he granted it. The trade wilbe very commodious, bring the spices in that waies. They will certifie them more particulurly of the same at their safe returne out of Persia. Aduise that this trade might be maintained, and such as goe about to ouerthrow it to be punished. There is also much salpeter in that Country, but in the Princes hand; if it please her Maiestie to writte to the Ambassadour about it, they will deale with the Emperor when they are come backe out of Persia.

From *Valerday* [Vologhda], etc.

[1] Vologhda.

[*vi May* 1570.]

THE AMBASSADORS [SAUINS] REQUEST TO THE RIGHT HONORABLE MAISTER SECRETARIE.[1]

THE Ambassadour from the Emperour of Russia requireth that the Quenes Maiestie would cause her highnes lettres of Secrit to be written in Rowsse, word for word as the coppie of lettre of the Emperour sent, and that her highnes would sett her hand to ye said lettre, and take an oath before the Emperours Ambassadour, and to hang her seale to those Letters.

The cause whie the lettres should be written in rowsse [Russ] is that the Emperour cannot vnderstand anie language but his owne.

The Emperour would dislike of the lettre yf it be not written word for word as that lettre which he sent.

And when the said lettre shalbe translated into rowse, that it maie be donne in the sight of the said Embassador.

And that the Quenes Maiestie would send her Ambassadour to the Emperour now, with his Ambassadour, and then the Emperour will cause letters written like word for word, and will hang his seale to those lettres, and kisse the crosse before the Quenes Ambassadour.

And that the Queene would send to the Emperour *Anthonie Jenkinson*, with her great Ambassadour in comission.

Ffor the cause whie the said *Anthonie* should goe is because he was made priuie by the Emperour to the beginnings of this loue and amitie, and therefore the Emperour will better creditt his wordes.

[1] MS. Cott., Nero B. xi, f. 335 ; also *Cal. S. P.*, For. Eliz., No. 894.

Instructions to Jenkinson.

[1570 *May.*]

Serten instroksyons geven me [Anthony Jenkinson] by Sir William Garard, Knyght, to move the Ryght honnorabell Sir William Syssyll of, etc.[1]

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1. Fyrst, that yt may ple[a]s[e] your honnour to perceue the ambassadors[2] letter of ansere of hys requests to be wrytten in Inglyshe.

2. And the same to be translated into Rus[s] by *Daniell*,[3] the interpretor, and he to make too [two] copys of the same, the one to le[a]ue with your honnour, the other to take with hyme to shewe the ambassador, yf vnto your honnour yt shall seem so good.

3. And for the more certentye that hyr Maiesty shalbe well asewred [assured] that *Danyell* hath don[e] the same trewly, the[re] ys one called *Normyntont* and *Ha[w]try* that may perues [peruse] the same, so shall declare the same agen [again] to your honnour in Inglyshe.

4. Item, as towtcheng the granteng of traffyke hether [hither] by them, the Queenes Maiesty may grant the same so ffare as the sayd emperor hathe alredy in hys preuyleg[e]s prouyded for the sam[e], whitche tendeth only for hys owen prouysyon, and not other wyes.

5. Item, as towtcheng the sendeng of another ambasador to confer the lege [league] &c., yf yt may ple[a]s[e] hyr hyghnes to reffare the same vntill the next yere, in whitche tyme the emperour may well consyder of hyr Maiesty grants, and lykeng the same, than [then] may be confermyd hereafter.

[1] *Cal. S. P.*, For. Eliz., No. 896.

[2] Savin's.—See preceding document.

[3] Daniel Sylvester.

6. That yt may ple[a]s[e] your honnour to haue in remembrance the calleng home of *Rafe Ruter*, *Chrystofer Bennyt*, *John Chapell*, and *Franses Byrket*,[1] thoes spesyallye, with all other Inglyshe men that dothe remayne ther[e] contrary to the preuyleges granted the Company, etc.

7. Item, that the sayd Ambassador[2] maybe fully ans[we]red at thys next me[e]tyng, so as he may take hys le[a]ve, for that the shypes at[t]end[3] only apon hym, and the yere is fare spent.

8. Item, that hyr Maiesty may be put in memory for [presents to the ambassador] and the secretarys,[4] whiche assuredly they lo[o]ke ffore.

Elizabeth to Ivan.[5]

[1570, *May* 18.]

Because we vnderstand from you, Emperour and Great Duke, our good brother, first by the secrite report of our trustie servaunt, *Anthony Ienkinson*, whom we sent as our ambassador to you, Lord, certen years past, and now last by the noble parson, *Andrew Gregoriwiche Sauiena*, whom you sent to vs as your highnes Ambassadour, in companie with our last Embassadour, *Thomas Randolphe*, that you, the said Emperour, doe earnestlie desiere to enter into some streight contracts of Amitie with vs; and for that purpose where the said *Andrewe Gregoriwiche* hath deliuered vnto vs certaine writinges in the Russian tongue, the which becawse wee could not vnderstand, for lacke of knowledge of that tongue, the said Ambassadour hath deliuered vnto vs, in most secreit manner, certaine other writinges, both in the Romayne tongue and in the Italian, which are said to be the true translations of the said lettres in the Russian tongue; both which [wrytyngs] we doe well vnderstand, and therbie doe conceiue that the said writings are deuised onlie as a forme of such a league and confederation as you, our

[1] Ralph Rutter, Christopher Bennett, John Chappell, and Francis Birket had intrigued against the Company in Russia.

[2] Savin. [3] Wait for. [4] Sevastianof.

[5] MS. Cotton, Nero B. xi, f. 341; *cf. Tolstoi*, No. 25.

deare brother Emperour, wold haue with vs for a mutuall streight amitie. Wheruppon wee haue with good deliberation resolued to accept in most friendlie manner this, the offer of the good will of so mightie a Prince, and to contract Amitie with you, the said Emperour, so farr fourth as the treaties and confederations which we haue had of longe time, and receiued by succession of our progenators, Kinges of England (and doe yet continewe), with other Christian Princes, Emperours, Kinges, and Potentates maie permitt vs.

And in consideration of your, the said mightie Emperours, fauour shewd to our subiects trading your contries for merchandize, and in respect of your further [inward and secret][1] disposition, which by sundry good meanes we are informed you beare towardes vs; wee are pleased to contract with you, Emperour and great Duke, as followeth, with the same wordes as neare as we maie, as we find contayned in your highnes writinges.

Wee enter into a frendlie and sisterlie league to continewe for euer with you, great Lord and Emperour, as a mightie Prince and our deare brother, Emperour, Lord, and great Duke of all Russia, etc. Which league wee will so obserue and keepe foreuer, as to binde our selues with our commen forces to (withstand and) offend all such as shalbe commen enemies to vs both, and to defend both our princely honours, the estate of our Realmes and countries, and to helpe, aide, and fauour eache of vs the other with mutuall helpes and aides against our commen enemies as farrefourth as the effect of these our lettres shall stretch.[2] And we will not ayde, comfort, or suffer anie person or potentate to offend you or your contries, that we maie to our power and by iustice with reason staie or impeache.

(Further more your highnes shall vnderstand that) your ambassadour, *Andrea Gregoriwich* (hath bene with vs) at sundry times (and) by his behauiour and discrete vsage of himself, wee

[1] These words have been erased in Cotton MS.

[2] In the original draft of this letter the secret document given on p. 290, *infra*, comes in here, beginning with the words "*yf at anie time*", to the end.—See MS. Cott., Nero B. xi, fol. 345, *verso*. *Cf. Tolstoi*, No. 25, p. 97.

do think you, the emperour and great duke, haue made a very good choice of him, as well for the wisdome we perceaue to be in him, as for the reuerence, care, and duty he beareth vnto your highnes, and to the conseruacion of your highnes estate and honour, and in all things which he hath communicated to vs, we trust by our answers he hath receaued good satisfaction.

Wherefore we meane not to inlarg our lettres any furder, but do giue your highnes our harty thankes for the priuiledge which your highnes haue granted to our trusty and welbeloued subiects, Sir *William Garrard*, Knight, and his company, being persons whom we singulerly do esteeme, dowting not but your contreys and people shall, by the[i]r resort into the same, receaue great profitt and estimation.

And according to your highnes ambassadors most ernest desires, and that only for the loue and regard we haue to shew your highnes pleasour in your request, we haue ben content to license *Thomas Glouer* to returne vpon his othe and bond, that he shall mak[e] full payment to our said merchants of such things as by his accompt he hath confessed to be due to them, dowting not but your highnes will of your honour, and for loue of iustice, cawse him so to do.

And we most ernestly requier you to giue furder order that *Raff Rutter*, *Christofer Bennett*, *Iohn Chappell*, *Frances Byrkett*, and such others Englishmen as our said subiects, Sir *William Garrard* and his company, shall by name requier, may be safely deliuered, to be sent into these our contreys, as of naturall duty they are bound, who (notwithstandyng the[i]r faults) shall find such fauour and mercy at our hands as shalbe reasonably by you required, that with our honour we may grant.

And further we requier your highnes to permitt such other honest Englishmen, our subiects, as came ouer thether of good will, and haue ben stayed in your seruice, and are (now very) desirous to returne, that they may, with your highnes fauour, come home hither into their natiue contrey, where they haue their wiues and children (who do dayly mak[e] request to vs for the same purposes). And in so doing your (highnes) shall minister good cawse for many others of like quallities to repaire thether to serue

your highnes, being such as we know you will for their coming [cunning] and knowledg much esteme when they shall come.

And so wishing that this intelligence (and amyty betwixt vs twoe maye haue long contynuacon and the) mutuall trade betwixt (our subiects) the people of both our contreys may hereafter encrease to both our contentations, and (spesially) to the honour of Almighty God, who hath ordeyned and chosen kings and princes to employ their (whole) cares to gouerne and defend the people of God committed to their charg in peace, welth, and tranquillity, for his honour and service, we commit you to the tuition of the same Almighty God.

Giuen at our honour of *Hampton courte*, the xviiith day of the month of May, in the xiith yere of our reign, and in the yere of our lord one thousand fyue hundred threescore and tenne.

[1570. *May* 18.]

Maii 1570.—The Coppie of the Queens Maiesties [Secret] Letter to the Emperour of Russia.[1]

Where wee haue by other our letters deliuered to your highnes ambassadour, the noble person, *Andrew Gregoriwiche Sauiena*, made answere to the greatest part of such messages and letters as the said ambassadors declared and brought to vs, wee haue thought good in some secreite manner to send your highnes for a manifest and certaine token of our good will to your highnes estate and suertye: this our secrit lettre, wherevnto none are priuie besides our selfe, but our most secreite councell, wee doe so regard the suertie of you, the Emperour and great Duke, as we offer that *yf at anie time*[2] it so mishappe that you, Lord, our brother Emperour and great Duke, bee by anie casuall chaunce, either of secrite conspiracie or outward hostillitie, driuen to change your countries, and shall like to repaire into our Kingdome and Dominions, with the noble empresse, your wife, and youre deare

[1] Collated with MS. Cott., Brit. Mus., Nero B. xi, 341; and *Tolstoi*, No. 26.

[2] *Cf. note* 2, p. 288.

Children, the Princes, we shall with such honors and Curtesies receiue and intreate your highnes and them, as shall become so great a Prince, And shall earnestlie endeauour to make all things fall out accordinge to your maiesties desire, to the free and quiett breedinge of your highnes life, with all those whom you shall bringe with you ; and that it maie be lawfull for you, the Emperour and great Duke, to vse your Christian religion in such sorte as it shall like you, for nether meane wee to attempte anie thinge to offend either your maiestie or anie of your people, nor intermeddle anie waies with your highnes faith and religion, nor yet to seuerre your highnes houshold from you, or to suffer anie of yours to be taken from you by violence.

Besides, wee shall appoint you, the Emperour and great Duke, a place in our Kingdom fitt vppon your owne charges, as longe as ye shall like to remaine with vs.

And yf it shall seeme good vnto you, the Emperour and great Duke, to depart from our countries, wee shall suffer you with all yours quietlie to depart, either into your Empire of Muscouia, or els whither it shall best like you to passe through our dominions and countries. Neither shall we anie wise lett or staie you, but with all offices and curtisies let you, our deare brother Emperour and great Duke, passe into your countrie or else where at your pleasure.

This wee promise by virtue of these our lettres, and by the word of a Christian prince, in witness whereof, and for the further testificacon of this our lettre, Wee, Queene *Elizabeth*, doe subscribe this with our owne hand, in the presence of these our nobles and councellors.

Nicholas Bacon, Knight, great chauncellor of our Realme of England.

William, Lord *Parr*, Lord Marques of *Northampton*, Knight of our order of the garter.

Henrie, Earle of *Arundel*, Knight of our said order.

Frauncis, Lord *Russell*, Earle of *Bedford*, Knight of our said order.

Robert Dudley, Lord of *Denbigh*, Earle of *Lecester*, master of our horse, and Knight of the same order.

Edward, Lord *Cleaton* and *Say*, Lord Admirall of England, and Knight of our said order.

William, Lord *Howard* of *Effeingham*, Lord Chamberlayne, and Knight of the same order.

Frauncis Knolls, Knight, Treaserour of our howse.

Iames Croft, Knight, Comptroller of our said howse.

William Cicill, Knight, our Principell Secretarie.

And haue also thereto hanged our priuie seale, promisinge that wee, against our common enimies, shall, with one accord, fight with our common forces and doe euerie and singuler things mencõed in this writinge, as longe as God shall lend vs liffe, and that by the worde and faithe of a Prince.

Giuen at our honor of *Hampton court*, the xviii daie of the moneth of Maie, in the xiith yere of our Reigne, and in the yere of our Lord one Thousand fiue hundred threescore and Tenne.

[The contemporary Russian translation of this document bears the following inscription.]

"This writinge in the Russian tongue is affirmed by *Daniell Siluester*, Englishman, the interpretor of the ambassador of the Emperore of Russia, being sworne vpon his othe to be the trew copie of the letter, whiche is written in the English tongue by the Queenes Maiestie of England."

[24 *Octobris* 1570.]

THE COPPIE OF THE MUSCOUITTS LETTRE IN ENGLISH, BROUGHT BY DANYELL SYLUESTER.

TO THE QUEENE ELIZABETH OF ENGLAND, FRANNCE, AND IRELAND AND OF OTHERS.

WEE, great Lord *and* Emperour of *Wolodemerea*, of *Muscouia*, etc., to *Elizabeth*, Queene of England, Fraunce, and Ireland, etc. For that before time certaine subiects of your brother, Kinge *Edward*, namely *Richard Chansler* and others, being sent for some occasion to all people and places, and hauinge writinges to all Kinges,

[1] MS. Cott., Nero B. xi, fo. 347; collated with the original Russian; see *Tolstoi*, No. 28.

Emperours, Dukes, Lordes, and rulers (but namelie vnto vs not one word was written), and those your brothers subiectes, *Richard* and his fellowes, wee know not after what sort, whither it were willinglie or vnwillinglie, came and Anchored in our hauen, by the sea side, and to our towne of *Dwena*, and wee, as it behooued a Christian Prince, shewed them so much fauour that wee receiued them with honor, and at our Princely and appointed Dynners wee of our goodnes sent for them; and wee sent them backe againe vnto your brother. And after that it pleased your brother to send the said *Richard Chansler* and one *Richard Graie* vnto vs, and wee in like cause shewed our goodnes vnto them, and sent them backe againe. And after that your brother sent the said *Richard* to vs the third time,[1] and hereupon wee sent vnto your brother our messinger, *Osipe Gregorie Nepea*. And to your brothers marchaunts and to all Englishe men we gaue our Lettres of Priuiledge so large as the like was neuer giuen to our merchants, thinkeinge to haue had receiued frendshippe of your brother *and of you, and seruice of English men*. And in the meane time that we sent our messinger the same tyme your brother dyed, and your sister *Marie* succeeded his place, and so married with *Philippe*, Kinge of Spaine, the wich Kinge and your Sister receiued our messinger honorablie, and so sent him backe againe vnto vs. But they sent no word to vs. And at that time your marchaunts did worke much deceipt against our marchaunts, and beganne to sell their wares deare, takeing for all thinges more then thinges were worth. And after that time [we were informed that] the Queene, your sister, died, and that the Kinge *Philippe* was sent awaie, and that you were crowned Queene of England; and wee all that time did your marchaunts no harme, but willed them to traffique as they had donne before time. And how manie lettres haue beene brought to vs hither, and not one

[1] This is a curious mistake. Chancellor only visited Russia twice: first in 1553, when he had parted company with Sir Hugh Willoughby, and sailed to the mouth of the Dwina; the second time in 1555. On his return voyage, the following year, his ship, the *Edward Bonaventure*, was wrecked in Pitsligo Bay, on the coast of Scotland, and he lost his life by drowning, while gallantly rescuing the Russian ambassador, Nepea, and some of his suite.

lettre that hath beene sealed with one seale, but euerie lettre hath had a contrarie seale, wich is no princelie fashion, and such lettres in all places be not creditted, but eurie Prince hath in his realme one prop[er] seale, but did giue creditt to your lettres, and accordinge to your lettres wee wrought. And after that you sent vnto vs your messinger, *Anthonie Ienkinson*, aboute the affaires of marchauntes, and wee, thinking him to haue good credditt with you, wee had therefore sworne him, and also your marchaunt, *Raphe Rutter*, because of interpretting, for that in such waightie affaires wee stood need of trewe interprettinge, and wee sent you by word of mouth of our great and secrett meaninge, desireinge frendshippe of you, and that you would haue sent ouer to vs some neere and trustie seruaunt of yours, and *Anthonie* to haue come with him, or ells *Anthonie* alone, for that we knewe not whither *Anthonie* did tell you all our wordes or no, for we h[e]ard not of him in a yere and a half after, and there came not from you neither messinger neither Ambassadour; and therefore wee of our goodnes gaue vnto your marchaunts another Priviledge, thinkinge them to haue beene in good creditt with you, and therefore our goodnes was the greater to them. And after that we had newes that a subiect of yours was come to the *Narue*, by name *Edward Goodman*, wich had manie lettres; but wee sent to him to inquire of *Anthonie*, but he told us nothing of him, and we commaunded him to be serched for lettres, and wee found manie lettres and in those lettres were written wordes not allowable against our princelie State and Empire, how that in our Empire were manie vnlawfull thinges done, and he gaue euill language to our messingers wich were sent to him; but wee of our goodnes caused him to be staied honorablie till such time as wee should haue aunswere from you of his affaires that wee sent of to you by *Anthonie*.

And after that there came from you a messinger to the *Narue* about marchaunts affaires, namelie, *George Middleton*, and we sent to him to know whither *Anthonie* were come to you or no, and when he should come from you to vs. But your messinger, *George*, would tell vs nothing of this matter, but did misscall our messingers and *Anthonie* also; and wee commaunded him to be

keept till such time as wee h[e]ard and knew of the matter that wee committed to *Anthonie*.

And not long after that wee were enformed that your Ambassadour, *Thomas Randolphe*, was come to our port of *Dwena*, and wee of our goodnes sent to meete him the *sonne of a gentleman*,[1] and wee commaunded the said gentleman to be his guide, and we did intreat him with great honor, and wee commaunded our said gent to enquire of him whither *Anthonie* were with him or no; but he told our gentleman nothinge, for *Anthonie* was not with him, but all his talke was of bowrishnes and affairs of marchaunts. And when he was come to our Empire wee sent vnto him manie times, that he would come and conferre with our counsaile, that wee might have knowledge of those greate affaires that we sent you word of by *Anthonie;* but he, after a rude manner, denyed to come, but he wrote supplicacions against *Glouer* and *Rutter*, and vppon affaires of Marchauntdize he writt, but of our Princelie affaires he made them of none effect, and therefore your Ambassadour was keept the longer from our presence. And after that our Cittie was stroaken by the hand of God with the plague, so that it was not possible for vs to giue him presence; but so soone as it pleased God to withdrawe from vs the plague of sicknes, we gaue him presence, and all his talke then was vppon merchaunts affaires; and then wee sent vnto him our Counsellor and Captaine of *Vologdaie*, Duke *Afonace Ewanowetch Vasemsko*, and our Seale Keep[er], *Ewan Mehalowa*, and our Secretarie, *Andrew Vasilowa;*[2] wee willed them to enquire of him yf he had comission of those affaires wich wee sent you word of by *Anthonie*, and he told them that he had comission for those affaires also; thereuppon wee did augment our goodnes vnto him. After that he was diuers times with vs, and euer he spake about bowrishe[3] and affaires of marchaundize, and verie seldome would talke with vs of our Princelie affaires. And at that time wee had occasion for to ride to our inheritance of *Wologhdaie* [*Vologhda*], and wee gaue commaundement to our gentlemen that they should conducte him

[1] In the Russian: "*son of a boyar*", or nobleman.

[2] Athanasius Ivanovitch Viazemsky, Ivan Mikhailof, and Andrew Vassilief.

[3] In original, *mujitski*, from *mujik*, a boor or peasant.

thither; and he being ariued thither, we sent vnto him our foresaide counsellors and our Secretarie, *Peter Gregorewa*,[1] and willed them to treate with him how those affaires of Amitie might be betweene vs; but the talke which your Ambassadour had was to establishe marchaunts, and we willed him to talke with vs of our affairs; and wee talked of them, and wee did agree how those affaires should passe betweene vs, and then we wrote our lettres, and to our lettres wee sett our seale, and then yf they had liked you, that then you would haue caused your lettres to haue beene written, and to haue sent some trustie Ambassadour, and that *Anthonie Ienkinson* might haue been sent with him. The cause whie wee were so desirous to haue had *Anthonie Ienkinson* to haue come was, that wee would have knowen of him whither the wordes did like you or no, and howe you were minded of the matter. And so we sent, in companie with your Ambassadour, our Ambassadour, *Andrew Gregoriwitch Sauin.*

Former lettres of the Queene to be seene how much is aunswered, and a fitt aunswere to be now made, and the lettres framed and brought by the Russian ambassadour to be seene.

And you haue sent vs our Ambassadour backe, but you haue not sent your Ambassadour to vs, and you haue not ended our affaires according as your Ambassadour did agree vppon. And your lettres be not thereto agreeable, for such weightie affaires be not ended *without some golde*,[2] or without Ambassadours; but you have sett aside those great affaires, and your Councell doth deale with our Ambassadour about Marchaunts affairs. And your Marchaunts, *Sir William Gerrard* and *Sir Wm. Chester*, did rule all our busines. And wee had thought that you had beene ruler over your lande, and had sought honor to your self and proffitt to your Countrie, and therefore wee did pretend those w[e]ightie affaires between you and vs. But now wee perceiue that there be other men that doe rule, and not men, but bowers and marchaunts, the wich seeke not the wealth and honnor of our maiesties, but they seeke there owne proffitt of marchandize. And you *flowe in your maydenlie estate like a maide*;[3] and whosoever was trusted in our

[1] Peter Gregorief.

[2] Incorrect translation: in the original Russian letter the words are "*without confirmation by oath*".

[3] *I.e.*, "*flower*" for "*flourish*". The Tsar here vents his anger against the Queen and her subjects in abusive language, which called forth the spirited reply from Elizabeth, which follows on p. 297.

affaires and did deceave vs, it were not meete that you should creditt them.

And now seeinge it is so, wee doe sett aside those affaires; and those bowrish Marchaunts that haue beene the occasion that the pretended welthes and honors of our Maiesties hath not come to passe, but doe seeke their owne wealthes, they shall see what traffique they shall have here; for our cittie of *Musko*, before their traffique to it, hath not greatly wanted Englyshe commodities. And the priuiledge that wee gaue to your Marchaunts, and sent to you, that you would send it vs againe, and whither it be sent or no, wee will giue commaundement that nothing shalbe donne by it. And all those priuiledges wich wee have giuen aforetime be from this daie of none effect. Written at our honor of *Mosko*, since the foundation of the world 7069 yeres, the xxviii daie of October.

Elizabeth to Iuan.[1]

(*Probably May or June* 1571.)

Elizabeth, by the grace of God, etc.

To the most serene and powerful Prince and Lord, *Iohan Basilius*, Emperor of Russia, etc. [Here follows in original MS. a long series of titles.] To our dearest brother and friend greeting in our Lord God Iesus Christ, and good fortune with prosperity. Most serene Prince and dearest Friend, We haue receiued the letters giuen by your Highness on the 24th October, brought to vs by *Daniel Syluester;* from which we vnderstood all the complaints and offences which haue happened from that time, etc. But inasmuch as neither our *Thomas* [*Randolph*], nor your *Andrew* [*Savin*], nor our letters to you, as it appears, haue satisfied you, we now send you our Orator and seruant, dear to and beloued by vs, *Anthony Ienkinson*, whose work and fidelity in the greatest and most secret affairs we haue always vsed, who will negotiate in our name, and treat very fully with you concerning all things. Towards this *Anthony* we haue desired to show our

[1] Translated and published for the first time from the Baker MS., vol. xxxii, pp. 35, 36, in the University Library, Cambridge, see Cat. Camb. MSS., vol. v, p. 349.

esteem, for we haue always known him to be an excellent man, faithful to vs, and feeling and speaking honorably of your Highness, from whom your Highness will best vnderstand our mind in euery thing. For he will tell you most truly that no merchants gouern our country, but we rule it ourselues, in manner befitting a Virgin Queen, appointed by the great and good God; nor was euer better obedience shown to any Prince than to vs by our people. And since this is the gift of God, to Him giue we our most humble and best thanks.

And concerning the priuileges of our subiects: although your Highness has reuoked them in consequence of some offences, yet do we hope, in consideration of our Goodwill, that they may be as royally restored as they were royally giuen, for we are most firmly conuinced that nothing was euer suffered by vs or done by our subiects, with our knowledge, which ought to haue iustly offended you. And we know that our subiects are euer ready to serue your interests, as when lately they seized the King of Polands piratical ships called freebooters, and deliuered them into our hands.[1] Moreouer, they haue exported merchandize, and euery kind of thing to your Empire, to conciliate your goodwill, which we do not allow to be exported to any other Princes in the world, and we can truly assure you that many Princes haue written to vs to lay aside your friendship; yet we can be influenced by no letters, but will be constant in our friendship.

Lastly, the treaty of amity was so lately made between vs, that if we wish to be a constant and Christian like Prince, we cannot in any way depart from it, or lay aside our goodwill when once it has been begun.

Wherefore, we doubt not but that after reading these letters and hearing our Orator, that your Highness will be mindful of our old goodwill, and will haue the same regard for our subiects which you haue shown for twenty years past with the greatest constancy: and to the great glory of your name, God, etc.

[1] Referring to the action off Tuttee, in the Gulf of Finland, in 1570. *Cf. Hakl.*, 1589, p. 425.

Tsar Iuan to Queen Elizabeth.[1]

[*August* 1571.]

Wee, the greate Lord Emperour and great Duke, *Iohn Wassilyewitz*, ouer all the Russes, etc.: To the Queene *Elizabeth*, ouer Englande, Fraunce, & Ireland, etc. Whereas you haue sent vnto vs your seruaunte, *Robert*,[2] withe a letter wherin you haue wrytten vnto vs that *Wyllyam Garrart*[3] and *William Chester*, sythence the moneth of September last past, by manye and diuers menne and writtinges, have hadde intelligence that the goods off the merchaunts (and their seruants also) were stayed and kepte straightlie vnder areste vnder owre Iurisdiction; the which was at the first not onlie skarslie beleued, butt rather thought to be a vayne dispersed rumor, as in your conscience you did iudge itt to be, and that there was neither by you, nor by no manne ells, any soche offence comytted or done as shoulde meritte the same, and that oure Imperiall maiestie, therefore, must not be offended. And that it ys well knowne vnto you what greate frendship their hath bene betwixt vs manye yeares, and the great aduancement and trewe dealinge that hath beene shewed vnto your subiects, and likewise also the newe compacte and agreement, which of late hath bene concluded betwixt vs, & that, therefore, you cannot departe from the same nor withdraw your frendshipp from vs, soe that we might be good & Christian Rulers together.

But consideringe that there haue bene sent vnto you letters vpon letters, making mencion thereof at the earneste instance and request of the sayd merchaunts, you colde not forbeare to wryte vnto our highnes, and so far forthe as the same letters were found [to] be trewe that th'enuious doo answere, and if the letters be not trewe yt may be possible that the dissobedient, not being our

[1] *Cal. S. P.*, For. Eliz., 1569-71, p. 500, No. 896; Cotton. MS., Nero B. viii, 9; *Tolstoi*, No. 32.

[2] Robert Best.

[3] Sir William Gerrard, Governor of the Muscovy Company.

frends, haue doone it to alter and change owre hartes, and so saye those that doo houlde the foresayde Rumore to be trewe, and that these should be the causes of the stayinge of your goodes.

Firste, because certayne freebuters, mariners, the which owre highnes Ambassador, *Andrewe Gregorowitz Sauin*, hadd taken vppe, should haue bene stayed in your dominions, and not permitted to come vnto vs. That our subiects did paye custome for their goodes & wares that they hadd brought with our Ambassador vnto you: and that you shoulde not haue esteemed owre Ambassador beinge with you, and that the same hathe bene soe deuised by suche as beinge currupt by giftes theirunto, or, by reason of their owne priuate profitte and comoditye, cannot abyde any suche greate frendshipp in the trade of merchaundize betwixt our people. Sayinge that the Ambassador (or howsoeuer he ys otherwise named) should neuer haue spoken to you nor to your merchants concerninge the sendinge ouer of maryners vnto vs, and as towching the custome you haue so fauourably and liberally dealed, as euer any ambassador was dealt withall, howe great soeuer he was. And as touchinge the ambassadoure himselfe: That it must first be knowne to all menne that all honnor & frendshipp hath beene shewed vnto him, referringe yourselfe to the witness of all them that haue bene present, and of th'imbassador himselfe. Prayinge, therefore, earnestly oure highnes that (you being our syster) your persuasion might haue more credite then the euill disposed people, that the enymyes and ewill willers to our mutuall amytye and frendshippe, and cannot abyde the trade of merchandize that is betwene vs, and that we woulde shewe our selues good and gracious towards your subiects, as they knowe they haue deserued itt by their seruice towards owre Maiestye.

That our harte hath conceiued anger by the euill reporte of euill disposed people, and that we woulde by wrytinge aduertisse you thereof, and that at the instaunce of your people you had sent vs your letter, to th'ende we might suffer your merchaunts freelye to traffike ouer all our dominions; throwghe the great frendshipp and the new compact made betwixt vs, and in consideracon of the mutuall comoditie and profytte betwene our subiects;

and you doute nothinge thereof, but hope that itt will lyke vs well.

We haue redde oute your letter, and well vnderstanden the same, and we haue written vnto you before, withe *Daniell* [*Sylvester*], the interpreter: yt may please you to looke vpon the same letters, and their to see the occasion of our anger vpon your highnes; and whereas you haue written that *Willin Garrett* and *Willin Chester*, haue gyven you the knowledg, beinge gouernoures of the foresaide marchaunts, lett vs understande what manner of men they be with you. Yf they be men of warre with you, so ys itt raisonable; but if they be merchaunts, so were it against reason to wryte for them, as not beinge worthy of ytt; and that they haue sayde as concerninge merchandize, the same cann you aske your merchaunts, *Vlgan Garrethe* and *Vlgan Chestor*, howe that our ambassadour, *Andre Gregoriwitz Sauin*, hath bene with you, and they haue lette our matters and exercyced marchaundize, and nowe haue the vnderstandinge what gaynes and profittes they haue vpon the merchaundize, and what goods and wares haue bene taken. And the same ys happened because that your merchaunts haue employed themselues to the[i]re trade of merchandize, and not to our matters, and haue disdayned our merchaunts, and not esteemed them as right merchaunts, and haue not suffered them to buye anye good wares.

And you haue not kiste the crosse vpon the Letter in the presence of *Andrew*, our ambassadour, and not done that wich of right is vsed to be donne. And so farforthe as you will haue our *frendshipp*[1] towards you, send vnto vs your good seruante, *Anthone*,[2] and then will we, with the same your Ambassador, conclude of all things that may tend to mayntayne our frendshipp, and also commune togither *concernynge the same goods*[3] wich you haue written for. As touchinge the mariner[s], we haue not bene angrye, *he hath brought vs owre ambassador;*[4] and, as concerninge the

[1] In the Russian: *love.*

[2] The Russian for Anthony is Anton.

[3] In the Russian: *concerning the kindness of which you wrote.*

[4] In the Russian: *our ambassador brought us the mariners.*

custome, we haue h[e]arde nothinge, neither hath any mane thereof made any complaynt vnto vs. Our ambassador hath bene *entertayned and serued of vittalls.*[1]

And that which passed wee haue heard from your ambassador, *Robert*, and hauinge asked him, he hath spoken vnto vs by the same wordes that were wrytten in your letter, and we haue caused answere to be gyven vnto hym vpon his talke, accordinge as we haue wrytten vnto you in our letter. And as concerninge the talk that your ambassador, *Robert*, hath had towchinge *Thomas Greene* and *Raffe* [*Rutter*], to th'end we might show them grace and send them to you; howe be yt, those your merchaunts, whylest they haue bene vnder owre Iurisdiction, haue very euill behaued themselues, and haue daylye vsed the companye of our traytours, both in frendshipp and councell. Wee, beinge a Christian Gouernor, haue doone no hurte to them; and so far forthe as all things doo falle oute well betwixt vs, and *amytye and frendshipp*[2] doe contynewe, we will delyver *Raffe* vnto you: and *Thomas Greene* ys accordinge to the will of god departed.

And whatsoeuer you haue wrytten concerninge the traffike and trade of merchaundize, that shalbe donne whensoeuer your ambassador shalbe come, layinge downe our angre, and agreeinge towching the angrye matters. And so will [we] be careful of all matters vntill your ambassadour be come to vs and talke of them, and vntill suche tyme canne we not helpe the matter. And yf you meane now to haue *frendshipp*[2] with vs, you will send *your ambassador*[3] by tymes.

And euen nowe haue we hadd tydings that *Anthonie* is here arriued, and when *Anton* cometh vnto vs we will gladly he[a]re hym, and forther aduertise you thereof.

Written at the *Schlebode*, anno. 7071, in ye month of August.

Endorsed in Cecil's handwriting: "The lyk letter was sent from the Emperor of *Moscouia* to *Philip* and *Mary*, in high Duch, dated in February."

[1] In the Russian: *detained and dishonorably treated as to victuals.*

[2] In the Russian: *love.*

[3] In the Russian: *your ambassadors and Anthony.*

Elizabeth to Iuan.[1]

[20*th October* 1572.]

Elizabeth by the grace of God, etc.

To His Highness the most powerful Prince, Iohan Basilius, Emperor of Russia, etc.

Our Ambassador, *Anthony Ienkinson*, has brought vs the letters, full of grace and kindness, giuen by your Highness on the Kalends of May; in which our demands haue been so answered, that nothing more could haue been desired nor more honourable friendship shown.

And we truly lament that what was contained in our secret letters should haue come too late to your Highness. For we certainly, had the occasion presented itself, would haue proffered all the offices of a louing sister. But since the time has passed, according as your Highness writes, there now remains but to returne our best thanks to your Highness. For it was very grateful to vs that you, our brother, should haue again receiued into your fauour the company of our merchants, and restored to them, at our request, their former priuileges which were taken away. Of this, if it may so happen in the future that we can in our turn gratify your merchants in any thing, we will not be vnmindful.

But we chiefly pray your Highness that as you haue nobly done, so may you always be pleased to fauour and benefit in word and in deed more and more the company of our merchants, and especially *Thomas Bannister*[2] and *Geoffrey Ducket*, who are now returning from Persia, as well as *Nicholas Proctor*, the Factor of our Merchants in Russia, that they may, with your Highness grace and fauour, prosper more & more.

[1] From the Baker MS., vol. xxxii, pp. 36, 37, in the University Library, Cambridge; see Cat. Camb. MSS. v, p. 349.

[2] The news of Bannister's death had not reached England when the Queen wrote.

And that which, as we hope, we shall easily obtain from your Highness, yet neuertheless do we ask for it—that you will not open your ears to the accusations and calumnies of those very bad men, *Thomas Glouer*, *Ralph Rutter*, *Thomas Pett*, & other traitors, who, hauing nothing themselues, yet squander and liue on the spoils and goods of others, but may rather deliuer them to the Factor of the said Company, that he may place them on a ship and send them to England, in order that they may satisfy their creditors according to iustice, as our ambassador, *Anthony*, has before treated with your Highness.

Lastly, we beg you, our Brother, that if any Englishman offend against your laws and iustice, the offender may alone suffer the penalty, but that the whole Company, being innocent of the offence, may not be punished; for this is equitable, that eueryone should answer for himself, and not be responsible for others. And by complying with this, your sisters, demand, Your Highness will indeed confer benefit, both on your own subiects as well as on ours. And we shall continue to enioy and keep inuiolate this our firm friendship. May God always preserue your Highness in safety and prosperity. Giuen at our castle of *Windsor*, 20 October 1572.

Note.—This is the last document immediately referring to Jenkinson's last embassy to Russia, though he is frequently mentioned in the subsequent correspondence between Ivan and Elizabeth. The various negotiations relating to the affairs of the Russia Company, and the secret treaty, were continued through the agency of Daniel Sylvester, a man well acquainted with the Russian language, and entrusted with important missions. The Tsar renews his demands, that the Queen should confirm, in solemn form, the league made between them, and should request an asylum in his dominions as he had done in hers. The Queen replies that the cause of her not having done the former was the necessity for preserving secrecy, as the Tsar had himself desired, and as to her asking for an assurance of refuge, in case of necessity, in his dominions, that if her subjects were in the least to suspect

that she entertained any doubt or suspicion of their loyalty (as she knew they would if she consented to make such a request), her estate might be imperilled. The various letters which passed between the two sovereigns during this period are preserved in the State Paper Office, in the Cottonian collection (Nero B. xi) at the British Museum, and in the University Library at Cambridge (Baker MSS., vol. xxxii). None of the latter are reproduced either in Count Tolstoi's book or in Turgénief's collection. Dr. Hamel noticed all these documents (*l.c.* pp. 220-225), but gave no references to them.

A note of the proceeding of M. Anthonie Ienkinson,

Ambassadour from the Queenes most excellent Maiestie, to the Emperour of Russia, *as well [for the affayres] of her Highness vnto me comi[tted, as for the] compaynie of marchaunts Trading into Russia*, from the time of his arriual there, being the 26. of Iuly 1571, vntill his departure from thence the 23. of Iuly, 1572.[1]

THE said 26. day I arriued with the two good shippes, called the *Swallow* and the *Harry*, in safetie at the bay of *S. Nicholas*, in *Russia* aforesaide, and landed at *Rose Island*, from whence immediatly I sent away my Interpreter, *Daniel Siluester*, in poste towardes the Court, being then at the *Mosco*,[2] whereby his Maiestie might as well be aduertised of my arriaull in his Dominions, as also to knowe his highnesse pleasure for my further accesse. And remayning at the saide Island two or three dayes, to haue conference with your Agent about your affaires, I did well perceiue by the wordes of the saide Agent, and others your seruants, that I was entred into great perill and danger of my life, for they reported to me that they hearde saide at the *Mosco* that the Princes displeasure was such against mee that if euer I came into his Countrey againe, I should loose my head, with other wordes of discouragement. Whereat I was not a little dismayde, not knowing whether it were best

[1] *Hakluyt*, 1589, p. 426. Collated with Lansdowne MS. 100, No. 15. This MS. appears to be in Jenkinson's handwriting, and differs widely from Hakluyt's version, in which much is omitted. We have supplied the omitted passages in italics, but, unfortunately, parts of the MS. are torn away.

[2] At the Alexandrofsky Sloboda (suburb) near Mosco. *Cf.* Jenkinson's letter to Lord Burghley, *infra*, p. 336.

for mee to proceed forwards or to returne home againe with the shippes for the safeguard of my life. But calling to minde mine innocencie and good meaning, and knowing my selfe not to haue offended his Maiestie any maner of wayes, either in word or deede, or by making former promises not perfourmed, heretofore by mine enemies falsely surmised, and being desirous to come to the triall thereof, whereby to iustifie my true dealings, and to reprooue my said enemies as well here as there, who haue not ceased of late *yeres with shamefull slawnder and* by vntrue reporte to impute the cause of the said Emperours displeasure towards *the said marchants* to proceede of my dealings, and promises made to this Prince at my last being with him,[1] although by his letters *sent the laste yere by Dannyell Siluester* to the Queenes Maiestie, as nowe by his own wordes to mee, the contrary doeth appeare, I determined with my selfe rather to put my life into his handes, *notwithstanding his tyranny*, and by the prouidence of God to prosecute the charge committed vnto mee, then to returne home in vaine, discouraged with the wordes of such *of our nation* who had rather I had tarried at home then to *haue bin* sent ouer with such credite, whereby I might sift out *and knowe* their euill doings, the *cheife* cause of *the Companyes* losse.

Wherefore, *taking leaue of* the saide shippes the nine and twentieth day of the moneth,[2] I departed from the seaside, and the first of August arrived at *a cyttye called Colmogro*, where I remayned, attending the returne of my saide messenger with order from his Maiestie.

But all the Countrey being sore visited by the hande of God with the plague, passage in euery place was shutte up, that none might passe in paine of death. My messenger, being eight hundreth miles vpon his way, was stayed, and kept at a

[1] *Cf. ante*, pp. 257 and 262.
He arrived at St. Nicholas on the 27th July. *Cf.* letter, *infra*, p. 336.

towne called *Shasko*,[1] *c... hundredth myles from a cittie called Voloughday*, and might not bee suffered to goe any further, neither yet to returne backe againe, or sende vnto mee: by meanes whereof, in the space of foure moneths, I could neither heare nor knowe what was become of him; in which time my saide messenger founde meanes to aduertise the Governour of the *said* Citie of *Vologda*, as well of his stay as of the cause of his comming thither, who sent him worde that it was not possible to passe any neerer the Prince without further order from his Maiestie, who was gone to the warres against the *Swethens*,[2] and that he would aduertise his highnesse so soone as hee might conueniently. And so my saide messenger was forced to remaine there still without answere. During which time of his stay through the great death (as aforesaide) I found meanes to sende another messenger with a guide by an vnknowen way through wildernesse, a thousande miles about, thinking that way hee should passe without let: but it prooued contrary, for likewise hee being passed a great part of his iourney, fell into the handes of a watche, and escaped very hardly, that hee and his guide, with their horses, had not bene burnt, according to the lawe prouided for such as would seek to passe by indirect wayes; and many haue felt the smart thereof, which had not wherewith to buy out the paine: neither coulde that messenger returne backe vnto mee.

And thus I was kept without answere or order from his Maiestie, and remained at the saide *Colmogro* vntil the 18. of Ianuarie following, neither hauing a Gentleman to safegard

[1] Shatsk, a town 310 miles north of Tambof, built by Ivan in 1552.—*Semeonof.*

[2] In the end of 1571 Ivan, who had recently lost his third wife, Martha Sabakina, prepared for hostilities against the Swedes. But Russia was not in a fit state to go to war, after the sufferings she had undergone. And the Tsar himself only went as far as Novgorod, where he signed a truce with the Swedish envoys, who were liberated from prison for this purpose.—*Karamsin*, ix, 241.

me, nor lodging appointed me, nor allowance of victuals according to the Countrey fashion for Ambassadours, which argued his grieuous displeasure towards our nation. And the people of the Countrey perceiuing the same, vsed towards mee and my companie *greate* discourtesies [*not suffering a*]*nie to buy victualles for my money*, [*manie*] *times the valewe thereof:* but about the 28. day aforesaid the plague ceased, and the passages being opened, there came order from his Maiestie that I should have poste horses, and be suffered to depart from *Colmogro*, to goe to *another* Citie called *Peraslaue*, neere to the Court, his Maiestie being newly returned from the said warres. And I arriued at the said *Peraslaue* the 3. of Februarie, where I remained vnder the charge of a gentleman, hauing then a house appointed me, and allowance of victuals, but so straitly kept that none of our nation or other might come or send vnto me, nor I to them. And the 14. of March following I was sent for to the Court, and being within 3. miles of the same, a poste was sent to the Gentleman which had charge of mee to returne backe againe with mee to the said *Peraslaue*, and to remaine there vntill his Maiesties further pleasure, wherewith I was much dismayed, and marueiled what that sudden change ment, and the rather because it was a troublesome time, and his Maiestie much disquieted through the ill successe of his affaires (as I did vnderstand). And the twentieth of the same I was sent for againe to the Court, and the 23. I came before his Maiestie, who caused mee to kisse his hande, and gaue me audience *as well in doinge the Queenes maiesties commendacions ...eringe and presentinge hir Highnes princely lettres & present, gratiously accepted* in the presence of all his nobilitie. *The wordes which I spake at my first accesse vnto his maiestie were these.* [*The om*]*nipotent and eternall God, the author and giuer of* [*all*] *thinges, amongst other his blessid gyftes bestowed upon* [*man*]*kinde, hath ordeyned and appointed by his greate* [*beneficen*]*ce that Princes and greate Rulers upon the*

earthe, ... Affaires togither (allthoughe they be far asunder [owing to th]e distance betwixte theire Countries by Sea & [land th]at they can not come togither and see one another) ..... [p]rinces and Rulers by sending Trustie messengers ..... may talke together, and expresse as well the [thoughts] of theire myndes, and gratifie one another ..... humanitie, as allso make Leagues & assurance [of theire] freindshippe to contynew for euer. Therefore, [most] mightie and famous prince, throughe owte many nations [the] greate Lorde, Emperour, and great Duke, Ewan Vassilliwiche [of] all Russia, Volodymer, Musko, Nouogrode, Emperor [of] Awstrican and Cassan, Lorde of Plasko, greate Duke of Smolensko, Otwer, Hugary, Permy, Vyatsko, & Bulgar, and of many other countries, Lorde and greate Duke of Nouograde in Neytherlande, Chirnigo, Rezan, Polotskey, Rostowe, Yerowslawe, Bellosar, Owder, Obder, and Conden, and of all Siberlande, [Lorde] and commander of the north partes, Lorde of the inheritaunce of Leyfeland and of many other countries to thy Maiesties ..... heires and successors belonginge and appertayninge, [the] moste Excellent and vertuous Lady of great [wor]the, Elizabethe, by the grace of God, Queene of [Eng]londe, ffraunce, & Irelande, deffendor of the christian [f]aithe, & thy maiesties louinge Sister, hauinge laitely [r]eceyued thy princely lettres sent by Dannyell Siluester, [an]d hir highnes well vnderstandinge the same, and [perc]eyuinge many thinges therein wrytten which coulde not be [an]swered withowte sendinge of an Ambassador, and [hir Highnes] hauinge greate desire to satysfie thee, lorde, in thy princely Affaires, whereby Amit[ie] ..... Begonne mighte holde faste and be [made to] contynew for euer betwixte your maiesties ..... and the greate profitt of both your Realmes, [her] highnes hath thoughte good to send me at t[his present] to thy Maiestie in her Trustie Ambassadge with ..... hartye greetinge and princely lettres, wish[ing thee], Lorde, her louing Brother, healthe and ..... honor with prosperous successe in all thy [affayres] to the will of Allmightie God our lorde ..... And hath commanded me

to Bowe and doe [*homage*] *vnto thy princely estate in suche sorte as to* [*so greate*] *a prince apperteyneithe. And for that* [*thy*] *Affaires at this present with the Queenes* [*highnes are of*] *greate waighte and parte thereof secrete,* [*her highnes*] *hathe not thoughte it good to answer all the same* [*by*] *Letter, but by sondrie lettres, which yt may* [*please thee*], *Lorde, here to Receiue, which beinge Tr*[*anslated*] *by a secrete & Trustie Enterpretor* [*thou mayest*] *vnderstande the Queenes Trewe ..... meaninge in all Thinges, which her high*[*nes hopeth*] *may be to the Contentaccion of thee* [*hir louing*] *Brother. And her Maiestie hathe sent for a Token, a paire of Candlestickes ..... Twoo standinge Pottes gilte, which it may* [*please thy*] *highnes to accepte, not for the valewe* [*thereof, but for a*] *Remembrance of freindshippe, and ..... Betwixte your maiesties. And I, Lorde ..... Maiestie, hir Ambassador, doo humbly pres*[*ent thy*] *highnes a smalle gifte from my selfe, a* [*bason*] *and Ewer of Siluer, a lookinge gl*[*asse*], *and a Bushe of Oystridge* [*feathers, praying*] *thy Maiestie to accepte the same. And so God prosper thee, Lorde, Emperor, and greate Duke, and giue thee a stronge hande ouer* [*thy*] *Enemies.* After I had finished my Oration, and deliuered her highnesse letters and present (as aforesaid), the Emperour, sitting in royal estate, stood up and said, How doth Queene *Elizabeth*, my sister, is she in health? To whom I answered, God doth blesse her Maiestie with health and peace, and doeth wish the like vnto thee, Lord, her louing brother. Then his Maiestie, sitting downe againe, commanded all his nobilitie and others to depart, and auoyde the chamber, sauing the chiefe Secretarie and one other of his Counsell, and willing me to approch neere vnto him with my Interpretor, said vnto me these words:

Anthonie, the last time thou wast with vs here, wee did commit vnto thee our trustie and secret Message, to bee declared vnto the Queenes Maiestie herselfe, thy Mistresse, at thy comming home, and did expect thy comming vnto vs againe at the time we appointed, with a full answere of the same from her highnesse.

And in the meane time there came vnto vs at seuerall times three messengers, the one called *Manly*, the other *George Middleton*, and *Edward Goodman*, by the way of the *Narue*, about the Marchants affaires, to whome we sent our messengers to knowe whether thou, *Anthonie*, were returned home in safetie, and when thou shouldest returne vnto vs againe. But those messengers could tell vs nothing, and did miscall, and abuse with euill wordes, both our messenger and thee, wherewith wee were much offended. And vnderstanding that the saide *Goodman* had letters about him, we caused him to be searched, with whome were found many letters, wherein was written much against our Princely estate, and that in our Empire were many vnlawfull things done; whereat wee were much grieued, and would suffer none of those rude messengers to have accesse vnto vs: and shortly after we were infourmed that one *Thomas Randolfe* was come into our Dominions by the way of *Dwina*, Ambassadour from the Queene, and wee sent a Gentleman to meete and conduct him to our Citie of *Mosco*, at which time wee looked that thou shouldest haue returned vnto vs againe. And the saide *Thomas* being arriued at our said Citie, wee sent vnto him diuers times, that hee should come and conferre with our Counsell, whereby wee might vnderstande the cause of his comming, looking for answere of those our princely affaires committed vnto thee. But he refused to come to our saide Counsell; wherefore, and for that our saide Citie was visited with plague, the saide *Thomas* was the longer kept from our presence. Which being ceased, foorthwith wee gaue him accesse and audience; but all his talk with vs was about Marchaunts affaires, and nothing touching ours. Wee knowe that Marchants matters are to bee heard, for that they are the staye of our Princely treasures: but first Princes affaires are to bee established, and then Marchants.

After this wee sent [*our*] *Councellors to Thomas, to talke & knowe of* [*him if he*] *had Commission to answer those our*

aff[*ayres of which we wrote*] *vnto thee. And he answered that he h*[*ad commission. Then*] *wee sent for him again after to vnder*[*stand the*] *same, but th'effecte of his talke* [*was euer*] *aboute marchants affaires. Then ..... to Remoue to our Cittie of Voloughda* [*we ordered*] *that Thomas showlde be conductid* [*thither vnto*] *vs. At whose commynge to our said Cittie* [*we sent*] *vnto him Two of our Trustie Councell*[*ors to talke*] *with him abowte our princely Affaires, w*[*ishing that*] *Amytie might be established betw*[*een vs*]*; and matters were agreed and conclud*[*ed betwixt*] *vs and Thomas, the Queenes Ambass*[*ador. And*] *thereupon wee caused our lettres to be wr*[*itten, and*] *sent our Ambassador into Englande to arrange the same with the queene. And th*[*at her Maiestie*] (*Lykeing thereof*) *shoulde cause* [*Lettres to be*] *wrytten, and to be subscribed with her hande, and her Maiestie to haue bin f..... Ambassador for the performance thereof ..... then to haue sent her Ambassador with* [*ours*] *again, and wee wolde haue doone the* [*same*] *Thinge, accordinge to our conclusion ..... princes waightie Affaires be made ..... and greate Assurance. And so our predecessors* [*ma*]*kinge leage with Maximilian, Charles, and other mightie Princes, haue vsed the same order.* But our ambassador Returned vnto vs againe withoute fynishinge of our princely Affaires, contrary to our expectation and the Agreement betwixte vs and your Ambassador.

Thus, when his Maiestie had made a long discourse, I humbly beseeched his highnesse to heare me gratiously, and to giue me leaue to speake without offence, and to beleeue those words to be true which I should speake. Which he graunted; and these were my wordes:

Most noble and famous Prince, the message which thy highnesse did sende by mee vnto the Queene her most excellent Maiestie touching thy Princely and secret affaires, immediatly, and so soone as I came home,[1] I did declare both

[1] Late in 1567. *Cf. Hakluyt*, 397.

secretly and truly vnto the Queenes Maiestie her selfe, word for word, as thou, Lorde, diddest commaunde mee. Which her highnesse did willingly heare and accept, and being mindefull thereof, and willing to answere the same, the next shipping after, her Maiestie did sende vnto thee, Lorde, her highnesse Ambassadour, *Thomas Randolfe,* whose approued wisedome and fidelitie was vnto her Maiestie well knowen, and therefore thought meete to be sent to so worthy a Prince, who had Commission *from her highnes* not onely to treate with thy Maiestie of Marchants affaires, but also of those Princely and secret affaires committed vnto mee. And the cause (most gracious Prince) that I was not sent againe was, for that I was imployed in seruice vpon the Seas against the Queenes Maiesties enemies,[1] and was not returned home at such time as Master *Thomas Randolfe* departed with the Shippes to come into thy Maiesties Countrey, otherwise I had bene sent. And whereas thy Maiestie sayeth that *Thomas Randolfe* would not treate with thy Counsell of the matters of his Legation, hee did (Lord) therein according to his Commission, which was: First to deale with thy Maiestie thy selfe, which order is commonly vsed among all Princes when they sende their Ambassadours about matters of great waight. And whereas the saide *Thomas* is charged that hee agreed and concluded vpon matters at the same time, and promised the same should bee perfourmed *with assurance, accordinge to thy Maiesties wordes as rehersed:* whereupon (Lorde) thou diddest send thy Ambassadour with him into England for answere thereof: it may please thy Maiestie to vnderstand that as the said *Thomas Randolfe* doth confesse that in deede he had talke with thy Highnes and Counsell diuers times about princely affaires, euen so he *vtterly* denieth that euer he did agree, conclude, or

[1] This does *not* refer to Jenkinson's commission for pirates, autumn 1565, *but to some other* employment at sea. Randolph sailed for Russia 22nd June 1568. *Cf. ante*, p. 243.

make any promise in any condition or order, as is alleaged otherwise, then it should please the Queene her Maiestie to like of at his returne home, which he did iustifie to thy Highnes Ambassador his face in England. Wherefore, most mightie Prince, it doth wel appeare that either thy Ambassador did vntruly enforme thy Maiestie, or els thy princely minde, and the true meaning of the Queenes Highnes her Ambassador, for want of a good Interpretor, was not well vnderstoode. And how thankefully the Queene her Maiestie did receaue thy Highnes commendations and letters sent by thy Maiesties Ambassador, and how gratiously she gaue him audience sundry times, vsing him with such honour in al points for thy sake, Lord, her louing brother, as the like was neuer shewed to any Ambassador in our Realme; and how honorably, with full answere in all things, her Maiestie dismissed him, when he had finished all thy princely affaires (as it seemed) to his own contentation, it may well appeare by a true certificate lately sent with her Highnes letter vnto thee, Lord, by her Messenger, *Robert Best*,[1] and her Maiestie did suppose that thy Ambassador would haue made report accordingly, and that by him thy Highnes would haue bene satisfied in all things, otherwise she would haue sent her Maiesties Ambassador with him vnto thee, Lord, again. But now her Highness, perceauing that thy Maiestie is not *yet* fully satisfied in thy Princely affaires, neither by *Thomas Randolfe*, her Highnes *layte* Ambassador, nor by thine owne Ambassador, *Andrea Sauyne*, nor yet by her Maiesties letter, sent by the said *Andrea;* and also vnderstanding thy great griefes and displeasure towards Sir *William Garret* and his Company,[2]

[1] In consequence of a report having reached England that the privileges of the English had been abolished, the Queen despatched Best with a letter to the Tsar, dated 24th January 1570-1571. In this letter the Queen assured the Tsar that Savin had been treated with all honour, "*ut nihil nec nostra nec aliorum opinione fieri potuerit honorificentius*".—*Baker MS.*, vol. xxxii, pp. 29-30.

[2] *Cf.* the Tsar's letter to the Queen, *ante*, p. 296.

merchants traffiking in thy Maiesties dominions, hath thought good to send me at this present vnto thee, Lord, Emperour and great Duke, as wel with her Highnes ful mind, touching thy princely affaires, as also to knowe the iust cause of thy Maiesties said displeasure towards the said companie of merchants; and hath commanded me to answere to all things in their behalfe, and according to their true meanings. For her Highnes doth suppose thy Maiesties indignation to proceed rather vpon the euill and vntrue reports of thy late Ambassador in England, and of such wicked persons of our nation resident here in thy Highnes dominions, rebels to her Maiestie and their countrie,[1] then of any iust deserts of the said merchants, who neuer willingly deserued thy Highnes displeasure, but rather fauour in all their doinges and meaninges. And since the first time of their traffiking in thy Maiesties dominions, which is now nineteene yeeres,[2] the said merchants haue bene and are alwaies readie and willing truely to serue thy highnes of all thinges meete for thy treasurie, in time of peace and of warre, in despite of all thy enemies; although the Princes of the East seas[3] were agreed to stoppe the *Sounde*, and the way to the *Narue*, and haue brought, and do bring, from time to time, such commoditie to thee, Lord, as her Maiesty doth not suffer to be transported forth of her Realme to no other Prince of the world.[4] And what great losses the sayd Sir *William Garret*, with his companie, hath sustained of late yeeres in this trade, as wel by shipwracke as by false seruants, it is manifestly knowen: and what seruice the said Companies ships did vnto thy Maiestie against thy enemies two yeeres past in going to the *Narue*, when they fought with the King

[1] *Cf. ante*, p. 262.

[2] *I.e.*, in 1553, when Chancellor opened intercourse with Russia.

[3] Denmark, Poland and Germany.

[4] This is evidently an allusion to war material.—*Cf. Cal. S. P.*, Venetian, 1557, April 3rd, No. 852.

of Poles shippes, Freebutters, and burnt the same, and slew the people, and as many as were taken aliue deliuered vnto thy Captaine at the *Narue*, I trust thy Highnes doth not forget.[1] Wherefore, most mighty Prince, the premises considered, the Queene, her most excellent Maiestie, thy louing Sister, doeth request thy Highnes to restore the saide Sir *William Garret*, with his companie, into thy princely fauour againe, with their priuiledges for free traffike, with thy accustomed goodnes and iustice, to be ministred vnto them throughout all thy Maiesties dominions, as aforetime; and that the same may be signified by thy Princely letters, directed to thy officers in all places, and thy highnesse commandement or restraint to the contrarie notwithstanding. And further, that it will please thy Maiestie not to giue credite to false reportes and vntrue suggestions of such as are enemies, and such as neither would haue mutuall amity to continue betwixt your Maiesties, nor yet entercourse betwixt your countries. And *for* such rebels of our nation as *Ralfe Rutter*,[2] and others which lye lurking here in thy Highnes dominions, seeking to sowe dissentions betwixt your Maiesties by false surmises, spending away their masters goodes riotously, and will not come home to giue vp their accounts, aduancing themselues to bee merchants, and able to serue thy Highnes of all thinges fitte for thy treasurie, whereas indeede they be of no credite, nor able of themselues to doe thy Maiestie anie seruice at all, the Queenes Highnesse request is: that it would please thy Maiestie to commaunde that such persons may bee deliured vnto me to be carried home, least by their remaining here, and hauing practises and friendship with such as be not thy highnesse friends, their euill doing might be a cause hereafter to withdraw thy goodnes from Sir *William Garret* and his companie, who haue true meaning in all their doings, and are ready to serue thy Highnes at all

[1] *Cf. ante*, p. 298 *note*; and *Hakl.*, p. 425.
[2] *Cf. ante*, p. 212, *note*.

times; vsing many other wordes to the aduancement of *the Companies* credits, and the *defacinge* of *theire* enemies, and so I ended for that time.

Then said his Maiestie: We haue heard you, and will consider of all things further when we haue read the Queene our sisters letters. To whom I answered, that I supposed his Maiestie should by those letters vnderstand her Highnes full mind to his contentation, and what wanted in writing, I had credite to accomplish in word. Wherewith his Maiestie seemed to be well pleased, and commanded me to sit downe. And after pawsing a while, his Maiestie said these wordes vnto me: It is now a time which we spend in fasting and praying, being the weeke before Easter, and for that we will shortly depart from hence towardes our borders of *Nouogrode*,[1] we can not giue you answere, nor your dispatch here; but you shall goe from hence, and tary vs vpon the way, where we will shortly come, and then you shall knowe our pleasure, and haue your dispatch. And so I was dismissed to my lodging, and the same day I had a dinner ready drest sent me from his Maiestie, with great store of drinkes of diuers sortes; and the next day following, being the foure and twentieth of Marche aforesaide, the Chiefe Secretarie to his Maiestie sent vnto mee a Gentleman, to signifie vnto mee the Emperours Maiesties pleasure was, that I should immediatly depart towards a Citie called *Otwer*, three hundred miles from the afore said *Sloboda*, and there to tary his highnes comming vnto a place called *Staryts*,[2] three score miles from the said *Otwer*.

[Then I sent my Interpretor to the chiefe Secretarie, request-

[1] To conclude peace with Sweden. The Tsar arrived at Novgorod on May 31st, 1572. *Cf. ante*, p. 308, *note*.

[2] Staritsa, on the Volga, about fifty miles south-west of Tver. Ivan favoured this place, and liked to visit it. He stayed here during his war with Stephen Batory. The old fortress is still standing.—*Semenof*.

ing him to further and shewe his fauour vnto our said merchants in their sutes, which they should haue occasion to moue in my absence: who sent me word againe that they should be well assured of his friendship and furtherance in all their sutes.][1] And forthwith post horses were sent me, with a Gentleman to conduct me. And so departing from the saide *Sloboda*, I arriued at the same *Otwer* the 28. of Marche aforesaide, where I remained till the eight of May following. Then I was sent for to come vnto his Maiestie to the saide *Staryts*, where I arriued the tenth of the same, and the twelfth of the same I was appointed to come to the chiefe Secretarie, who at our meeting sayde vnto mee these wordes:

Our Lord Emperour and great Duke hath not onely perused the Queene her Highnes letters sent by you, and thereby doth perceaue her mind, as well touching their princely affaires, as also her earnest request in the merchants behalfe, but also hath well pondered your wordes. And therefore his Maiesties pleasure is that you let me vnderstand what sutes you haue to mooue in the merchants behalfe or otherwise, for that tomorrowe you shall haue accesse againe vnto his Highnes, and shall haue full answere in all things with your dispatch away.

Then, after long conference had with him of diuers matters, I gaue him in writing certaine briefe articles of requests which I had drawen out ready, as followeth:

1. First, the Queenes Maiestie her request is that it would please the Emperours Highnes to let me knowe the iust cause of his great displeasure fallen vpon Sir *William Garret* & his companie, who neuer deserued the same, to their knowledge.

2. Also, that it should please his Highnes not to giue credite vnto false and vntrue reportes by such as seeke to sowe dissention and breake friendshippe betwixt the Queenes Highnes and his Maiestie.

[1] Omitted in MS.

3. Also, that it would please his Maiesty to receaue the said Sir *William Garret*, with his companie, into his fauour againe, and to restore them to their former priuiledges and liberties for free traffike in, and through, and out of all his Maiesties dominions in as ample manner as aforetime, according to his princely letters of priuiledge and accustomed goodnes.

4. Also, it would please his Highnes to grant that the said companie of merchants may haue iustice of all his subiects, as well for money owing vnto them as other their griefes and iniuries throughout all his dominions, suffred since the time of his displeasure, during which time the merchants were forced, by seuere iustice, to answer to all mens demands, but theirs could not be heard.

5 Also, that his Maiestie would vnderstand that much debts are owing to the said merchants by diuers of his Nobilitie, whereof part are in durance and some executed, and the said merchants know not how to be paid and answered the same, except his Highness pitie their case, and command some ordre to be taken therein.

6. Also, it would please his Highnes to command that the saide merchants may be paide all such summe or summes of money as are owing and due vnto them by his Maiestie for wares, as well English as *Shamakye*, taken into his Highnes treasurie by his officers in sundry places, the long forbearing whereof hath bene, and is, great hinderance to the said companie of merchants.

7. Also, it would please his Maiestie to vnderstand that at this present time there are in Persia, of English merchants, *Thomas Banister* and *Geofrye Ducket*, with their companie and goods, ready to come into his Maiesties Countrey of *Astracan*, and would haue come the last yeere, but that the ship, with our merchants and marriners appointed to goe for them, were staied at *Astracan* by his Highnes Captaine there, to the great hinderance of the said merchants. Wherefore it may now please his Maiestie to direct his princely letters vnto his

Captaines and rulers, both at *Astracan* and *Cazan*, not onely to suffer our people, as well merchants as marriners, quietly and freely to passe and repasse with their shippes, barkes, or other vessels down the riuer *Volga*, and over the *Mare Caspium*, to fetch the said English merchants, with their companie and goods, out of the said Persia into his Maiesties dominions, but also that it would please his Highnes streightly to command that when the said *Thomas Bannester* and *Geofrye Ducket*, with their charge, shall arriue at the saide *Astracan*, his Maiesties Captaine there, and in all other places vppon the riuer *Volga*, shall so aide and assist the said merchants as they may be safely conducted out of the danger of the Crimmes and others their enemies.[1]

8. Also it may please his Highnes to vnderstand that lately our merchants comming from *Shamakye* haue bene ill used by his Maiesties Customers, both at *Astracan* and *Cazan*, at both which places they were forced to pay custome for their wares, although they solde no part thereof, but brought the same into his Highnes treasurie at *Sloboda :* and the said Customers did not only exact and take much more custome than was due by his Maiesties lawes, but also for want of present monie, tooke wares much exceeding their exacted custome, and doe keepe the same as a pawne. It may therefore please his Highnes to direct his princely letters to the said Customers, *as well* to signifie vnto them his great goodnes againe restored vnto the saide English merchants, as also to command them to send the said merchants their said goods so detained up to the *Musko*, they paying such custome for the same as shall be by his Maiestie appointed.

9. Also that it would please his Highnes to grant that Sir

[1] Bannister died in Persia (*cf. ante*, p. 136, *note*), but Duckett returned with a rich cargo of merchandise. Before reaching Astrakhan, however, his vessel was attacked by pirates, and the greater part of his goods plundered, he himself narrowly escaping with his life.—See *Hakl.*, p. 421.

William Garret, with his companie, may establish their trade for merchandise at *Colmogro* in *Dwina*, and that such wares as shal be brought out of our Countrey fit for his treasurie might be looked vpon, and receaued by his officers there. And that his Maiesties people traffiking with our merchants may bring downe their commodities to the said *Colmogro*, by means whereof the saide English merchants, auoiding great troubles and charges in transporting their goods so farre, and into so many places of his dominions, may sell the same better cheape, to the benefite of his Maiesties subiects.

10. Also, if it seemed good to his Highnes, that the whole trade likewise from *Persia*, *Boghar*, and all other those Countreies beyond the *Mare Caspium*, might be established at *Astracan*, the ancient marte towne in times past,[1] which would be both for the great honour and profite of his Maiestie and subiects, as I am well able to proue, if it will please his Highnes to appoint any of his counsell to talke with me therein.

11. Also forasmuch as it pleased his Maiestie, immediatly after the burning of the *Musko*,[2] to command that the said English merchants should giue in a note into his treasurie for their losses sustained by the said fire, which was done by *William Rowlye*, then cheefe Agent for Sir *William Garret* and his company, and the particulars in the same note consumed with the said fire, did amount to the summe of 10,000. rubbles and aboue: It may please his Highness, of his accustomed goodnes and great clemencie, to consider of the same, and to giue the saide companie so much as shall seeme good vnto his Maiestie towards their said losses.

12. Also, that it will please his Highnes to vnderstand that the Queenes most excellent Maiestie, at the earnest sute and request of *Andrea Sauyne*, his Maiesties Ambassador, did

[1] *Cf. ante*, p. 58 and *note, ib.*

[2] See *infra*.

not onely pardon and forgiue *Thomas Glouer*[1] his great and grieuous offences towards her Highnes committed, onely for his Maiesties sake, but also commanded Sir *William Garret*, with his companie, to deale fauourably with the said *Glouer* in his accompts, to whome he was indebted greatly, and being their seruant, detained their goods in his hands a long time: whereupon the said Sir *William Garret*, with his companie, counted with the saide *Glouer*, and ended all thinges, euen to his said contentation. And *he* was found to be debter to the said companie 4000. robbles and aboue, and bound him selfe, both by his solemne othe and his hand writing, to pay the same immediatly after his returne into *Russia* with the said *Andrea Sauyne*, vnto *Nicholas Procter*, chiefe Agent there for the said companie of merchants. But although it is now two yeeres past since the saide agreement, and that the said *Nicholas* hath diuers and sundry times requested the said monie of the said *Thomas*, yet will he not pay the same debt, but maketh delay from time to time, alleaging that his Maiestie oweth him a great summe of money, without the paiment whereof he can not be able to pay the said merchants his due debt long forborne, to their great hinderance. In consideration of the said premisses, It may please his Highness to giue order that the said *Glouer* may be paid, and that he may discharge his debt to the saide company of merchants, and the rather for that he found such mercie and fauour in England, onely for his Maiesties sake.

13. Also, forasmuch as *Ralfe Rutter*,[2] a rebell to the Queenes Maiestie, and an enemie to his Countrey, and to Sir *William Garret* and his company, hath of long time remained here, liuing of the spoiles and goods of the said merchants, which he wrongfully detained in his hands, riotously spending the same during the time that he was their seruant, and would not come home when he was sent for; and also for that the

[1] *Cf. ante*, p. 289.
[2] *Cf. ante*, pp. 219, 287, 289.

Queenes Maiestie doth vnderstand that the said *Ralfe*, with other his adherents, doe seeke by all false meanes to sowe dissention, and breake amitie betwixt their Maiesties, and to ouerthrowe the trade of the said merchants; her Highnes request is, that the said *Ralfe*, with his complices, may be deliuered vnto me to be carried home, and none other of her Maiesties subiects, not being of the societie of the said Sir *William Garret* and his companie, to be suffered to traffike within his Highnes dominions, but to be deliuered to their Agent to be sent home, for that the said merchants, with great charges and losses, both by shipwracke and riotous seruants, did first find out this trade, and haue continued the same these 19. yeeres, to their great hinderance.

14. Also, whereas diuers masters and artificers of our nation are here in his Maiesties seruice, and doe finde themselves grieued that they can not haue licence to depart home into their natiue Countrey at their will and pleasure, the Queenes Maiesties request is, according to her Highnes writing in that behalf, that not onely it will please his Maiestie to permit and suffer such artificers here resident in the seruice of his Highnes to haue free libertie to depart and goe home with mee, if they request the same, but also all other the like which shall come hereafter to serue his Maiestie, to haue free libertie to depart likewise, without any let or stay.

15. Also, it may please his Maiestie to vnderstand that during the time of my long being at *Colmogro*, attending his Highnes pleasure for my further accesse, I, with my company, haue not onely bene ill vsed and intreated there, and likewise the merchants there, by one *Besson Myffereuye*, his Maiesties chiefe officer, who hath dishonored me, and smitten my people, and oweth the said merchants much money, and will not pay them; but also the said *Bessone* hath spoken wordes of dishonor against the Queenes Maiestie. Wherefore it may please his Highnes to send downe with me to *Colmogro* a Gentleman, as well chiefly to serch foorth his euill behauiour towards her

Maiestie as towards me, her Highnes Ambassador, and to punish him accordingly. And also that it would please his Maiestie to sende downe his letter of iustice, by vertue whereof the said *Bessone* may be forced to pay all such money as he oweth to the saide merchants without delay.

16. Also that it would please his Highnes to vnderstand that Sir *William Garret*, with his companie, vnderstanding of the great dearth in his Maiesties dominions, by licence of ye Queenes Maiestie (not otherwise permitted), hath sent certaine ships laden with corne into his Highnes Countrey of *Dwyna*, rather for the reliefe of his Maiesties subiects then for any gaine. Yet the good will of the said merchants lightly regarded, they were forbidden to sell the said corne, to their great discouragement hereafter to send any more. Wherefore it may please his Highnes to tender the good will of the said merchants, as well in sending the said corne as in all other things ready to serue his Maiestie, and to direct his letters to his officers of *Dwyna* to suffer the saide merchants, with their companie, to sell the said corne by measure, great or small, at their pleasure, without paying custome.

These articles being deliuered to the chiefe Secretarie, as aforesaide, and our talke ended for that time, I departed to my lodging, accompanied with certaine Gentlemen. The next day, being the 13. of May aforesaide, I had warning earely in the morning to prepare my selfe to be at the Court betwixt the howres of 10. and 11. of the clocke, where I should haue accesse vnto the presence of the Prince, as well to receaue answere of all things as to be dismissed to goe home. At which howre I was sent for to the Court, and brought into the Chamber of presence, where his Maiestie did sit apparelled most sumptuously, with a rich Crowne upon his head, garnished with many pretious stones, his eldest sonne[1] sitting by him, and many of his Nobilitie about him: and after my dutie

[1] Mentioned above, p. 257.

done, his Highnes commanded me to approch very neere vnto him, and saide vnto me these words:

Anthony, the Queene, our louing sister, her letters wee haue caused to be translated, and doe well vnderstande the same, and of all things as well therein contayned, as by worde of mouth by you to vs declared, wee haue well considered, and doe perceaue that our secrete message[1] vnto you committed was done truely according to our minde (although we were aduertised to the contrarie), and now we are by you fully satisfied. And when we did send our Ambassador into England about those our great and waightie affaires, to conclude the same with the Queene, our sister, our Ambassadour could ende nothing for want of such assurance as was requisite in princely affairs, according to the manner of all Countreyes, but was dismissed vnto vs againe, with letters of small effect touching the same, and no Ambassador sent with him from the Queene: which caused vs to thinke that our princely affaires were set aside and little regarded, wherewith we were at that time much greeued. For the which cause, and for all the euill behauiour of your merchants resident in our dominions (who haue diuers wayes transgressed and broken our lawes, liuing wilfully in all their doings), we did lay our heauie displeasure vpon them, and did take away from them their priuiledge, commanding that the same throughout all our dominions should be void and of none effect: and thereupon did write to the Queene, our sister, touching our griefes.

And now her Highnes hath sent vnto vs againe you, her Ambassador, with her louing letters and full minde, which we doe thankefully receaue, and are thereby fully satisfied. And for that our princely and secret affaires were not finished to our contentation at our time appointed, according to our expectation, we doe now leaue of all those matters and set them aside for the time, because our minde is nowe otherwise charged, *and will not ymportunate our Syster any further*,

[1] *Cf. ante*, p. 238.

but hereafter, when occasion shall moue vs to the like, we will then talke of those matters againe. And for that it hath pleased the Queene, our louing sister, to sende vnto vs at this present, and doeth desire to continue in friendshippe with vs for euer (which wee doe gratefully accept and willingly agree to the same), we of our goodnes for her Highnes sake will not onely from hencefoorth put away and forget all our displeasure towardes the same Sir *William Garret* and his companie (as though they had neuer offended vs), but also will restore them to their priuiledges and liberties, in and throughout all our dominions, and will signifie the same by our letters *vnto all our officers*, in all townes and cities where the said merchants doe traffike, and we will shewe them fauour as afore time, if they deserue not the contrary. And if the Queene, our sister, had not sent thee, *Anthony*, vnto vs at this present, God knoweth what we should haue done to the said merchants, or whether we would haue called backe our indignation.

Then I humbly beseeched his Maiestie to let me know the particular offences committed by the said merchants, and the offendors names, to the intent I might make report thereof vnto the Queenes Maiestie, my mistres, accordingly, that the said offendors might receaue iust punishment for their deserts: but he said I should not know them, because he had cleerely remitted all offences: and further, that it was not princely to forgiue and after accuse the parties, whereby her Maiesties displeasure might fal vpon them at home. Notwithstanding, I did after vnderstand some part thereof by other meanes.

Then his Maiestie proceeding in talke said: As touching the articles of request concerning the merchants affaires, which you did yesterday deliuer vnto our Secretarie, we haue not onely read the same our selfe, but also haue appointed our said Secretarie to declare vnto you our mind and answere

to the same. And for that we are now vpon our iourney towards our borders, and will depart from hence shortly, we will dismisse you to the Queene, our louing sister, your mistres, with our letters and full mind by word of mouth touching all your requests, and will send a Gentleman, one of our houshold, with you, to safeconduct you to your ships: and of our goodnes wil giue you victuals, boates, men, and post horses, so many as you shall neede. And therewith his Maiestie, standing vp and putting off his cappe, said vnto me these words: Doe our hartie commendations vnto our louing sister, Queene *Elizabeth*, vnto whome wee wish long life, with happie successe: and therewith his Highnes extended his hand to me to kisse, and commanded his sonne, sitting by him, to send the like commendations, which he did, whose hand likewise I kissed. And then his Maiestie caused me to sit downe, and commanded wine and drinkes of diuers sortes to be brought, whereof he gaue me to drinke with his owne hande, and so after I departed.

Then the next day, being the 14. of May aforesaid, I was sent for to come to the cheefe Secretarie and one other of the Counsell with him, who at our meeting said vnto me these wordes: We are appointed by the Emperour his Maiestie to giue you answere from his Highnes touching your requests deliuered in writing, which his Maiestie hath perused and answered as followeth:

1. To the first request it is answered that all his Maiesties greefes and displeasure (now put away from the merchants) did grow because the Queenes Maiestie did not accomplish and ende with his Ambassador his secrete and waightie affaires according to his expectation, and the promise made by *Thomas Randolphe* at his being here; and also *through* the ill behauiour of your merchants resident here in our Countrey, as his Maiestie did himselfe yesterday declare vnto you.

2. To the second, his Maiestie willeth you to vnderstand that he hath not, nor will not hereafter, be moued to breake

friendship with the Queenes Maiestie without good and iust cause.

3. To the third, you are answered by the Emperours Maiestie himselfe, that his great goodnes and fauour againe vnto the merchants shall be restored, and the same to be knowen by his gratious letters of priuiledge, now and againe granted.

4. To the fourth, his Maiestie hath commanded that your merchants here resident shall exhibite and put into writing vnto me, his Maiesties Secretarie, all their griefes and complaints, as well for debts as for other iniuries offred them since the time of his Highnes displeasure, and they shall haue iustice truly ministred throughout all his Maiesties dominions without delay.

5. To the fifth, his Maiestie doth not know of any debts due vnto the merchants by any of his Noblemen, as is alleaged; and whether it be true or no he knoweth not. The trueth whereof must be tried out, and thereupon answere to be giuen; and hereafter his Maiestie would not haue the merchants to trust his people with too much.

6. To the sixth it is answered, that his Maiestie hath commanded search to be made what money is owing to the merchants for wares receaued into his treasurie, as in the article, (the most of the bookes of accompt being burnt in the *Musko*), and such as is due and founde meete to be paide shall be paide foorthwith to the merchants, their factors, or seruants which shall come for the same. And for paiment of the rest his Maiesties further pleasure shall be signified hereafter.

7. To the seuenth, his Maiesties answere is, that letters shall be written foorthwith to his Captaines of *Astracan*, and *Cazan*, and other of his officers vpon the riuer *Volga* to whome it appertaineth, not onely to suffer your people, both merchants and mariners, to passe with their ships or barkes from *Astracan* ouer the *Mare Caspium* to fetche *Thomas Bannister* and *Geofrye Ducket*, with their companie and goods, out of *Persia*, but also

when they shall arriue within his Maiesties dominions to ayde and assist them, and see them safely conducted vp the riuer *Volga* from the danger of enemies.

8. To the eight, his Maiestie hath commanded letters to be written to the Customers, both of *Astracan* and *Cazan*, to make restitution to the English merchants of their goods deteined by them for custome, and to take custome for the same according to his Maiesties letters of priuiledge.

9. 10. To the ninth and tenth articles, his Maiestie will consider of those matters, and hereafter will signifie his princely pleasure therein.

11. To the eleuenth, as touching an inuentorie giuen into the treasurie what goods the merchants had burnt in the *Musko*, in their house there, his Maiesties pleasure was to vnderstande the same, to the intent he might knowe the losses of all strangers at that present, but not to make restitution, for that it was Gods doing, and not the Emperours.

12. To the twelfth, concerning *Thomas Glouer*, his Maiestie was enformed by his Ambassador of the Queenes great mercie and clemencie towards the said *Thomas* for his sake, which his Highnes receaued in good part, but what agreement or dealings was betwixt the said Sir *William Garret* and his companie and the said *Glouer*, or what he doth owe vnto the saide merchants, his Maiestie doth not know. And as for the money which the said *Thomas* sayth is owing vnto him by the Emperour, his Maiesties pleasure is, that so much as shall be found due and growing vpon wares deliuered vnto the treasurie, out of the time of his Maiesties displeasure, shall be paid foorthwith to the saide *Thomas*, and the rest is forfeited vnto his Maiestie and taken for a fine, as appertaining to *Rutter* and *Bennet*, accompted traytors vnto his Highnes during the time of his displeasure.

13. To the thirteenth article, concerning *Rutter* to be deliuered vnto you to be caried home, the answere was, that as his Maiestie will not detaine any English man in his Countrey

that is willing to goe home, according to the Queenes request, euen so will he not force any to depart that is willing to tary with him. Yet his Highnes, to satisfie the Queenes Maiesties request, is contented at this present to sende the saide *Ralfe Rutter* home with you, and hath commanded that a letter shall be written vnto his cheefe officer at the *Musko* to sende the saide *Rutter* away with speed, that he may be with you at *Vologhda* by the time of Maye without faile. And touching the rest of your request in the said article, his Maiesties pleasure shall be signified in the letters of priuiledge granted to the said merchants.

14. To the foureteenth, touching artificers, his Maiestie will accomplish all the Queenes Highnes request in that behalfe, and now at this present doth licence such and so many to depart to their natiue Countrey as are willing to goe.

15. To the fyueteenth, touching *Besson Messeriuey*, the Emperors maiestie is much offended with him, and wil send downe a gentleman with you to inquire of his ill behauior, as wel for speaking of vndecent words against the Queens maiestie as you haue alleaged, as also against you and the merchants, for his outrages mentioned in the article. And the said *Bessone* being found guiltie, to bee imprisoned and punished by seuere iustice accordingly, and after to put in suerties to answer ye Emperours high displeasure, or els to be brought vp like a prisoner by the said gentleman, to answere his offences before his maiestie. And his highnes doth request that the Queenes highnesse herselfe would doe the like *iustice* vpon *George Middleton* and *Manlie*, her messengers sent hither two yeeres past, and of all others, for their euill behauiour towards his maiestie, as may appeare by the letters sent by *Daniel Siluester* by his highnesse, least by the *euill* demeanor of such *euill* persons, the amitie and friendship betwixt their maiesties might be diminished.

16. To the 16 and last article, touching the corne brought into the Emperours dominions by the merchants, his maiestie

doth greatly commend them for so well doing, and hath commanded to giue you a letter forthwith in their behalfe, directed to his officers of *Dwina*, to suffer the said merchants to sell their corne by measure, great or small, at their pleasure, without custome.

Thus I receiued a full answere from his maiestie by his chiefe Secretarie and one other of his counsell to the 16. articles afore rehearsed, by me exhibited in writing, touching *the marchants* affaires, with his letter,[1] also sent by me to the Queenes maiestie. Which being done, I requested that the

[1] This letter, dated from Staritsa, 14th May 1572, is as follows :— You haue sent to vs your ambassador, *Anthony Ienkinson*, with your letters. And in those letters you wrote to vs that you wish our fauour and our loue, and you wrote to vs on other matters. And *Anthony* told vs some speeches on his ambassage; the which letters and speeches of your ambassador, *Anthony*, we did hear. And this you do wisely, that you wish for our fauour and our loue. And the business about which you wrote to vs in your secret letter, the time for this business is past, because such business among princes cannot be done without confirmation by oath, and furthermore, this business has tarried too long. And when we sent to you our ambassador, *Andrew Sauin*, about this business, and you did not write anything to our Imperial Maiesty about this matter of the oath, but wrote only about trade. And whereas you wrote in your letter with your ambassador, *Anthony*, that you do not so much desire to be in such brotherly loue with any as with our Imperial Maiesty, you do wisely that you seek our fauour and brotherly loue. And our Imperial Maiesty wishes to keep you in our loue. And whereas you wrote to vs about your merchants, that we should grant them in our dominions liberty of trade according to our former priuileges, and give to your merchants our charter for their trade. And for your sake we haue granted to your merchants, and ordered them in all our realms to trade freely, and haue giuen order to let them pass out of our dominions into any other dominions, according to their wish, without let or hindrance. And we haue ordered for your sake to giue them a charter of priuileges such as is most conuenient to them. And we haue louingly receiued your letters which you sent to our Imperial Maiesty, brought by your ambassador, *Anthony*. And therefore our Imperial Maiesty wishes to keep loue vnto you. Giuen in our dominion of the grand dukedom of *Tuer*, in *Staritsa*, in the year 7080, May.—[From Count Tolstoi's Collection, No. 35. The original document in Russian is preserved at the State Paper Office.]

Forasmuche (Kynge Honorable) as my Sundrie good lordes
& frendes pleased the Queenes moste excellent Ma^tie to
vse me (although vnworthy) to the Prince of this
Realme, vpp his highenes Embassadge, I have thought
yt my dewtye, to advertise yo^r Hono^r, a Storie of my
proceadinge hitherto. as dayly of the myserable state of
this countrye. Desiringe yo^r L. vnderstande, that immediatly
apon my Arryvall at the Rode of S^t Mary Colab. the worsh^full
of the Iuste, I dyspatched awaye my poste vnto Tenochtitlan,
beinge one of the honorabl^t called Cihuacoatl, aboute pur-
myttinge from his Landinge place, both to advertyse his
hi^s Ma^tie of my comynge, and also to knowe his pleasure
for my further accesse, whereto the wch by reason of
the greate playe wch vennemythe throughe the moste
parte of his dominions, and the stoppinge of the wayes
I maye not passe nor approache. But do remayne at his
owne called Colnogar, attendinge Answer. And
havinge had conference wth the cheife Governo^r of
the same, I do perceive, that the laste Embassado^r wch
this countrye at his retorne home, did slaunderously
and untrewelie reporte vnto his lorde, and m^r, the
greate Duke, howe that he was evill entertayned
and vsed in Englonde, and espetially at the marchaunte
hande, presentinge all his false suggestions by-
writinge, wch remayne of Recorde, although he be
dead. By whose meanes, and the spytefull practyses
of Sir Albarte, and Emagated p^rsons of that yon ab-
hore Rebell, the Divyne heavie displeasure
is fallen apon the companie of Marchaunte, in sun-
dry^e, as he hathe not onely taken awaye their
Adventydyes, but allso forbidden them Trafficke
throughe owte his Dominions, both by Lande and
open Revolt manyon. And that, wch he hathe nowe
taken from o^r marchaunte, he hathe given freely
to other Companyes of fowen Nations, As the
Italion, Spaynyrds, as Turkes. not a little to the discredit
of o^r people. God graunte that wch I even reporte
I may appeaase his wrathfulnes, and bringe o^r marchaute
to their former Estate. And nowe Sundrie
tymes geting the state of this Countrye, god hathe
Plaged it many wayes. Firste by Famyne. that
the people have been enforced to eate Breade made
of Barke of Trees, besides many horrible Thinge

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ye, and reportyd for certeyn, that in some places
they fawt & fought one a nothyr. Wch the Wynne
patte by sondry tormente put to deathe a greate
nomber of his people, especyally of his nobylitye
yentlemen and prynypall mayntaynte / Amongst
the Wlage patte confessyd by Cuddebie reporte
this laste yere above iiij^c^ persones / Besydes all
this, the Wynne, a wakyande natyon of Tartors
in the latter ende may laste, inwadid this Realme
yave the Wynne an Overthrowe in the ferdest,
Caryed him to Potyre, Hunte & ronnyd all
the Countrye before hym, and came to the bylle
of muske, stil fyghtyng the same. not leavinge
one howse standinge, & fewe people or now
Estaped. The nomber of thost that were hunte
Besydes suche as were Caryed awaye Captyves
by the said Wynne, wch is conjecte to be above
iiij^c^ thousand. A iuste punyssement of god for suche
a wycked Natyon. yt wch is to be Domted (my lord)
that the Wynne patte sowndde suche a roddye
way into this Countrye. that he wold be gevn
vgayn this next yere. & put not fayninge in thes
at this put to Enlardye yo^r^ hono^r^. I reste till
better oraseyon be offerid, and then fayninge
meaned to rowsey my wit. wch I shall understande
more of my provisadnye, ab bonnette god make
prosperus yo^r^ in healthe wth encreasse of honowr.
From Colmeyar the xvij^th^ of Auguste. 1572

To the right honorable
his synguler good lorde
the L. Wmeyley. sue
of the Quenes matie
Wrynsey Comsell.

at the Corrtey

Yo^r^ hono^rs^ at comaundm^t^.
Antony Jenkinson

letters new of priuiledge granted by his highnes vnto *the marchants* might be forthwith dispatched, to the intent I might carie the same with me. Also I requested that such money due to *the marchants*, which it had pleased his maiestie to command to be paid, might be deliuered to me in *the* behalfe *of the said marchants.*

Touching the letters of priuiledge the Secretarie answered me, it is not possible you can haue them with you, for they must be first written and shewed vnto the Emperour, and then three to be written of one tenour, according to your request, which cannot be done with such speed, for that his maiesties pleasure is, you shall depart this night before him, who remooueth himselfe to morrow towards *Nouogrode;* but without faile the said letters shall be dispatched vpon the way, and sent after you with speed to *Colmogro.* And as touching the mony which you require, it cannot be paid here because we haue not the bookes of accounts, for want whereof wee know not what to paie; wherefore the best is, that you send one of the merchaunts after the Emperour to *Nouogrode*, and let him repaire vnto me there, and without faile I will pay all such money as shall be appointed by his maiestie to be paied after the bookes seene.

But forasmuch as there was none of your seruaunts with mee at that present (although I had earnestly written vnto your Agent, *Nicholas Procter*, by *Richard Pingle*, one of your owne seruaunts, one moneth before my comming to *Starites*, where I had my dispatch, that he should not faile to come himselfe or send one of your seruaunts to me hither, to follow all such sutes as I should commence in your behalfs, which he neglected to doe, to your great hinderance), I requested the said Secretarie that I might leaue *Daniell*, my interpreter, with him, as well for the receit of money as for the speedie dispatch of the letters of priuiledge; but it would not bee granted in any wise that I should leaue any of mine owne companie behind me; and thereupon I did take my leaue with

full dispatch, and departed to my lodging, and foorthwith there came vnto me a gentleman who had charge as well to conduct me and to prouide boates, men, post horses, and victuals for me all the way to the Seaside, being a thousand and three hundred miles, as also to doe iustice of the sayd *Bessone* as aforesayd. And he sayd vnto me, the Emperours pleasure is, that you shall presently depart from hence, and I am appointed to goe with you. And that night I departed from the sayd *Starites*, being the fourteenth of May aforesayd. And passing a great part of my iourney, I arriued at the citie of *Vologda* the last of the sayd May, where I remayned fiue dayes, as well expecting a messenger to bring vnto mee the new letters of priuiledge as the comming of *Rutter*, whom the Emperours maiestie himselfe commaunded before my face should be sent vnto me without faile, and I did see the letters written to the chiefe officers at the *Mosko* for the same. Neuerthelesse the sayd *Rutter* did not come, neither could I heare of him after, nor know the sudden cause of his stay contrary to the princes owne worde and meaning, as I suppose. But I could not helpe the matter, beyng farre from the prince, neither could I tell how to haue redresse, because by absence I could not complaine. Notwithstanding I vsed all my indeuour, and sent a messenger, *Iohn Norton*, one of your seruaunts, from *Vologda* to *Nouogrode*, where the court then lay, expressely with letters, as well to aduertise his maiestie that the sayd *Rutter* was not sent vnto me, according to his highnesse commaundement and order, as also about the dispatch of the said letters of priuiledge and receit of your money, with straight charge that he should in any wise returne vnto me againe before the departing of the ships.

And the first day of June I departed from the said *Vologda* by water towards *Colmogro*, where I arriued on the 21. of Iune aforesaid,[1] and remained there vntill the 23. of Iulie,

[1] From this to the end omitted in the MS., which ends thus: "*and the 23. of Iuly, the shippes beinge reddy to departe, I embarked myself to*

looking for the said *Iohn Norton* to haue returned vnto me in all that time, which had respite fully inough in that space both to goe to the court to dispatch his businesse and to haue returned againe vnto me, but he came not, for it was otherwise determined before his going, as I did after vnderstand, & can more at large by word of mouth declare vnto your worships the occasion thereof.

Neuerthelesse I am well assured before this time your Agent hath receiued into his hands the sayd letters of priuiledges, and shall haue dispatch with expedition in all things touching your affaires, according to his maiesties graunt by me obtained, as hee hath written to the Queenes maiestie at this present, wishing that as now by my going the Emperour hath withdrawen his grieuous displeasure from you, and restored you againe to his fauour, so your Agent and others your seruants there resident may behaue, and endeuour themselues to keepe & augment the same, whose euill doings haue bene the onely occasion of his indignation now remitted.

Anthony Ienkinson to Lord Burghley.[1]

[8 *August* 1571.]

Fforasmuche (Ryghte honorable) and my syngler good Lorde, yt hath pleased the Quenes most Excellent Maiestie to sende me (allthoughe unworthie) to the Prince of this Realme, with hir Highnes Embassadge, I haue thowghte yt my dewtye to aduertize your honour, as well of my proceadinge hitherto, as

come home, and the 10th of this present September I aryued vpon the coaste of Norfolke, hauinge bin 7 weekes vpon the seas with very contynuall fowle wether and ..... windes and dyuers tymes in greate [perill]." The MS. is endorsed in a different handwriting, "*Master Ienkinsons Negotiation in Moscouia.*"

[1] *S. P.*, For. Eliz.

allso of the myserable state of this countreye. Givinge your Lordship to vnderstande that immediatly vpon my aryuall at the ro[a]de of *St. Nycholas*, the xxviith of the laste [*i.e.*, July], I dyspatched away my poste vnto th'emperour, beinge at one of his houses, called *Slobodo*,[1] aboute xii^{c} [twelve hundred] myles from our landinge place, bothe to aduertyze his maiestie of my commynge, and allso to knowe his pleasure for my further accesse, withoute the which (by reason of the greate plag[u]e which reyneythe throughe the moste partes of his domynions, and the stoppinge of the ways) I may not passe nor approche; but doo remayne at this towne, called *Colmogar*, attendinge answer. And hauinge had conference with the cheife Gouernour of the same, I doo perceiue, that the late Embassadour of this countreye, at his returne home, did slanderouslye and vntrewlie reporte vnto his Lorde and master, the greate Duke, howe that he was euill entertayned and vsed in Englande,[2] and especyallie at the marchants handes, presentinge all his false suggestions by wrytinge[s], which remayne of recorde, allthowghe he be dead. By whose meanes, and the spytefull practysis of such abiectes and runagates of our natyon as ar[e] here resident, the Prynces heauie displeasure ys fallen vpon the companie of marchaunts in suche sorte as he hathe not onely taken away theire Pryueyledges, but allso forbidden theim [to] traffycke throwghe owte his domynions, bothe by Lettres and open Proclaymacyon. And that which he hathe nowe taken from our marchants he hathe giuen freely to other companyes of forren natyons, as well Italion, Freynche, as Duche, not a lytle to the discredit of our people. God graunte that, with trew reporte, I may appease his wrowthe, and bringe our marchants to theire former estate. And nowe, somewhat touchinge the state of this countrye, God hathe plag[u]ed

[1] Alexandrofsky Sloboda, near Mosco. *Cf. ante*, p. 306.
[2] *Cf. ante*, p. 315, *note*.

it many ways:[1] ffirste by ffamyne, that the people haue been enforcid to eate breade made of barke of trees, besydes many vncleane things, ye[a], and [it is] reportyd for certeyn, that in some places they haue eatten one another. Allso the Prynce hathe, by soundry torments, putt to deathe a greate nomber of his people, cheyfely of his nobylitye, gentlemen, and pryncypall marchaunts. Ffurther, the plag[u]e hathe consumid (by credeble reporte), this laste yere, about iii^{c} thowsande [300,000]. Besides all this, the *Crymmes*, a valyante natyon of Tartars, in the latter ende of May laste, inuadid this realme, gaue the Prynce an ouerthrowe in the feildes, cawsed him to retyre, burnte and consumed all the countrye before theim, and came to the cyttye of *Musko*, sett fyer one the same, not leauinge one house standinge, and few people ar[e] now escaped. The nomber of those that wer[e] burnte, besydes such as wer[e] caryed away captyves[2] by the said *Crymmes*, ys thowghte to be aboue iii^{c} thowsand [300,000]. A iuste punyshment of God for such a wycked natyon. Yt is to be dowtid (my Lord) that the *Crymme* hathe fownde suche a reddye way into this countrye, that he will be here agayn this next yere.

Thus, not hauinge further at this present to enlardge your honour, I cesse [cease] till better occasyon be offered, and then hauynge meanes to conuey my lettres, your Lordship shall vnderstande more of my proceadinges, as knowethe God, who preserue you in healthe

[1] Karamsin, speaking of this calamitous period, says (ix, 230): "Que manquait-il encore à ses infortunés après la famine, la peste, le fer, le feu, la captivité, enfin un tyran pour maitre?" A Dutch merchant who was an eye witness, says that in four months there died upwards of 250,000 of the plague of Mosco; and he adds that it was particularly observed that in the eight days (that is from the 10th to the 18th August 1570), 2,703 priests died of it; and this plague continued so fiercely that in the end every one wondered when he met an acquaintance.—*Harl. Misc.*, vol. 3, p. 301.

[2] Among whom was Webbe, *cf. ante*, p. 187.

with encrease of honour. Ffrom *Colmogar*, the viiith of Auguste 1572 [1571].

Your honour at commandment,

ANTHONY IENKINSON.

To the Right honorable his syngler good Lorde, the Lord Burghley, one of the Quenes Maiesties Priuey Counsell.

At the Courte.

THE BURNING OF MOSCOW, BY IOHN STOW.

THE following account of the burning of Mosco contains some interesting particulars:—

The 24 of may, being assention day, ye Kinge of ye *Crimmes* came to the Citie *muscoui* with aboue 120,000 horsemen & men of warre, & the emperours captens and men of warre beynge in garrison, and in ye *holdes* a brode, and ye *moscho* being vnprouided, the sayd tartars set a fyre the citie, subbarbs, & both castels. I say all tymber worke therein was consumyd to asshes. Assuredly I thynke *sodome & gomora* were not in so short tyme consumed. I beleue it was a plage sent by god for ye wickednes of ye people. The mornynge was exceadynge clere, & fayre, & calme, without any wynd, but beynge afyre ther was nothynge but whirlwynds, & such a noyse a[s] thoughe the hevens shuld haue fallen, and in such terible wise that where men roaze ether in ye howses or in stretes they were distroyed: ther was a wonderfull number destroyed, for all the contrye within xx myles compase came into ye citie & castels. So did all the subburbs, so that all ye houses & stretes wer full of people, & that men cowld scarse goo for them in ye strets, and all consomed with fyre, except certen men of warr, which men sky[r]myshynge with ye tartars & fewe others that fled ouer ye walls into ye riuer, where some wer drowned & some saued; and in a few sellers & churches a great nomber of them wer rosted to death, as out of one of ye companys sellers in the inglish howse dyed xxx persons, wher of iii of them seruants, to say, *Thomas sowtham*, *Thomas fylde*, & *Iohn wauerlaye*, and Artificars *Thomas Chaffene*, *Thomas Caruar* poticary, with dyuers others, &c. And in ye next sellar god preserued master *Rowlay*,

Iohn Spark, and *william glouer*. This crewell and sodayne destructyon cam vpon ye *moscow* in great and wonderfull whirlwynds, and at ye ende of thre owrs very calme agayne, and fayre wether, that men myght walke and se ye dede bodyes of men & horses to no small nomber, besydes those that were burned to powder. I pray god I neuer see ye lyke agayne. And ye same daye that the tartar dogge had done this myscheffe, the nyght following he, with all his power, fled ouer the ryuar *oca*, which is 20 versse distant from ye *moscow*; a verse is iii quarters of an yngleshe myle. The place wher ye emperour lyeth is called *slovobde*.

[Another account on same leaf.]

The crymme, vassal to ye Turc, hath ouarron ye best parte of thes domynions, & within 8 hours after my delyuerance out of *moscow*, wherein I note gods good prouydence, ye gates of ye towne were shut vp, no man suffered to passe out, and such a candell lyght within vii myles of *mosco*, in one of ye dukes howses, that it might be sene of all *moscow*, beinge by estimation xx myles in compas, whiche also not longe after was consomed with fyer & not one stick left; & in one howse perished *Thomas Sowtham*, & *thomas field*, *Iohn wauerly*, *Thomas carwer*, apothicary, *Thomas Chafen*; these with other strangers, all to the nomber of 25 persons, dyed in ower howse. The nomber that perished at ye destruction of *muscho* was so greate by reporte that I wyll not name it. This will I say, that all ye country for lx myles round . . . came for . . . to *moscow*, & ye viii men which in ye townn dyd not escape. Two monthes will scarce suffice to fre ye citie (which now is nothynge but walls, & here and there a stone howse, muche like a conduit head) from dead corpses of men & horses. All this was sodaynly done, for at my comynge from thence, all *moscow* was troubled with ye sendyne of soldyars agaynst the *Crymme*, who that was reportyd to be 300 myles of the place. The fase of ye *Crymme* hathe so stricken these peoples harts, that as we came through *pereslaicow*, *Rostowske*, *Iuerlawsai*, ye people wer flying with theyr goods into caues & wyldernes so afferd was they lest all with fire frome ye *Crymme* wold fly into the skye. In my mynd athow some armed horsmen myght haue taken all before them to *Vologda*, whych is vc myles from *moscow*. The *Crimme*

hath intrenched hym selffe not farr from *moscow*. What wilbe ye end of these warrs is vncertain.[1]

[1] The *first* part of the above narrative appears to have been copied by Stowe from a letter written by Thomas Glover to Cecil, Lord Burghley. Glover, the former agent of the Company, and William Rowley, his successor in that post, escaped together from the cellar of the English house, where several of their countrymen perished, and saved themselves in another cellar, in which was also John Sparke, who had made the journey in 1566 with Southam to Novgorod (*ante*, pp. 190-206). Glover made his way to Narva, whence, on the 2nd July 1571, he sent a description of the misfortune that had befallen the Company's house to Sir William Gerrard, as a supplement to a letter which he had sent by his servant, John Hunt, who was to communicate the details by word of mouth. The *second* shorter account appears to have reached London by means of Nicholas Procter, afterwards chief agent at Mosco, because he writes that he had quitted the city eight hours before the gates were closed, and hurried by way of Pereslavl and Rostof to Yaroslavl. We find Procter soon afterwards, at the end of July, at Rose Island, where he made the same communication to Richard Uscombe, who had arrived from England with Jenkinson, and who wrote to his friend, Henry Lane, on the 5th August, substantially the same account of the fire: thus both state that there perished altogether *five and twenty* persons in the English house, whereas Glover says there were *thirty*. *Hamel*, p. 211, *seq.*; *cf. Hakluyt*, 1599, vol. i, p. 402, and *State Papers*, Foreign Series, July 2nd, 1571, No. 1842.

Another account of the burning of Mosco, by the same Dutch merchant quoted above, is preserved in the *Harl. Miscellany*, vol. iii, p. 301. The writer appears to have escaped destruction, as did the English survivors, by taking refuge in a stone cellar, where he and his interpreter refreshed themselves from time to time with some beer, for the smoke would otherwise have stifled them. The fire only lasted four hours; yet in that time, so rapid was the combustion of the wood-built houses and resinous fir-tree pavements, that above 200,000 perished. After the fire, the author, with some 25 or 30 others who had escaped, sought refuge in the Kremlin, which they could only enter by means of long fir-trees, thrown to them from the inside. These were notched, so as to serve the purpose of ladders; and in this way they climbed over the walls, and were made welcome by the Governor.

Karamsin says, with reference to this calamity, that the living were powerless to bury the dead, whose corpses poisoned the atmosphere of the city, and that so many of these were thrown into the Moskva that its course was interrupted.

The names of such countries as I, Anthonie Ienkinson,

haue trauelled vnto, from the second of October 1546, at which time I made my first voiage out of England, vntill the yeere of our Lord 1572, when I returned last out of Russia.

First, I passed into Flanders, and trauelled through all the *base countries*),[1] and from thence through Germanie: passing ouer the Alpes, I trauelled into Italy, and from thence made my iourney through Piemont into France, throughout all which realme I haue thoroughly iourneied.

I haue also trauelled through the kingdoms of Spaine and Portingall, I haue sailed through the Leuant seas euery way, & haue bene in all the chiefe Islands within the same sea, as *Rhodes, Malta, Sicilia, Cypres, Candie,* and diuers othars.

I haue bene in many partes of Grecia, Morea, Achaia, and where the olde citie of *Corinth* stood.

I haue trauelled through a great part of Turkie, Syria, and diuers other countries in Asia minor.

I haue passed ouer the mountaines of *Libanus* to *Damasco,* and trauelled through *Samaria, Galile, Philistine,* and *Palestine,* vnto *Ierusalem,* and so through all the holy land.

I haue bene in diuers places of Affrica, as *Algiers,*

[1] *Base*, from the French *bas*, low, Pays-bas or Low Countries, Netherlands.

Cola,[1] *Bona*,[2] *Tripolis*, the *Gollet*,[3] within the gulfe of *Tunis*.

I haue sailed farre Northward within the *Mare glaciale*, where wee haue had continuall day, and sight of the Sunne ten weekes together, and that nauigation was in Norway, Lapland, *Samogitia*,[4] and other very strange places.

I haue trauelled through all the ample dominions of the Emperour of Russia and Moscouia, which extende from the North sea, and the confines of Norway and Lapland, euen to the *Mare Caspium*.

I haue bene in diuers countries neere about the Caspian sea, Gentiles and Mahometans, as *Cazan*, *Cremia*,[5] *Rezan*, *Cheremisi*, *Mordouiti*, *Vachin*, *Nagaia*, with diuers others of strange customes and religions.

I haue sailed ouer the Caspian sea, and discouered all the regions thereabout adiacent, as *Chircassi*, *Comul*, *Shafcal*, *Shiruan*, with many others.

I haue trauelled 40. daies iourney beyond the said sea, towards the Orientall India and Cathaia, through diuers deserts and wildernesses, and passed through 5. kingdomes

[1] *Cola* (Kolah), on the north coast of Africa, between Algiers and Bona, E. of Cape Bugiaroni, in long. 6° 34′ E.; probably identical with Cull or Cullu, the *Collopo Magnus* of the ancients, a maritime garrison town of the Algerines. Thomas Shaw, a traveller of the 18th century, found it in a miserable condition, with few antiquities to boast of.—*Pinkerton*, xv, p. 541.

[2] *Bona*, a maritime town of Algeria, lat. 36° 54′ 30″, long. 7° 46′ 30″ E., known to the Moors by the name of *Blad el Aneb*, or the town of Jujubes, from the abundance of fruit gathered there. Bona is undoubtedly a corruption of Hipponah, and was built out of the ruins of this ancient town.—*Pinkerton*, *ib.*

[3] *Gollet* (Goletta), the water communication between the Lake of Tunis and the gulf of that name; an inlet of the Mediterranean.

[4] Samogitia, or the country of the Samoeds.

[5] *Cremia* (Crimea), the country inhabited by the Crim (Krim) Tartars, which, in the middle of the sixteenth century, included the right bank of the Volga between Kazan and Astrakhan.—*Ante*, p. 53.

of the Tartars,[1] and all the land of Turkeman and *Zagatay*,[2] and so to the great citie of Boghar, in Bactria, not without great perils and dangers sundry times.

After all this, in An. 1562, I passed againe ouer the Caspian sea another way, and landed in Armenia, at a citie called *Derbent*, built by Alexander the Great, & from thence trauelled through *Media*, *Parthia*, *Hircania*, into Persia, to the court of the great Sophie, called *Shaw Tamasso*, vnto whom I deliuered letters from the Queenes Maiestie, and remayned in his court 8 moneths: and returning homeward, passed through diuers other countreys. Finally, I made two voyages more after that out of England into *Russia*, the one in the yeere 1566, and the other in the yeere 1571. And thus, being wearie and growing old, I am content to take my rest in mine owne house, chiefly comforting my selfe in that my seruice hath bene honourably accepted and rewarded of her Maiesty and the rest by whom I haue been emploied.

[1] These five kingdoms are: Mangishlak, Vezir, Urgendj, Kath, and Bokhara, each being under its separate chieftain or king.—*Cf. ante*, pp. 65-85.

[2] Zagatay or Jagatai, son of Jinghiz. His inheritance comprised the whole region from Kulja on the east to Bokhara on the west. In this country the spoken language is still known as the *Jagatai* dialect.

Instructions giuen to Master *D. Rogers*[1] and Master *Ienkinson*, beinge sent to *Embden* to treate with the kinge of Denmarks Commissioners.[2]

[1577. 20 *Iuly.*]

WHERAS vppon the traffique of our Merchants into Russia there hath growen a controuersye betwene our good Brother, the kinge of Denmarke, and vs about the said voyage, the said kinge, our

[1] Daniel Rogers, a man of considerable ability in the Court of Queen Elizabeth, was the son of John Rogers, of Derytend, in the parish of Aston, in Warwickshire, where he was born about the year 1540. His father, who had embraced the reformed religion, being obliged to quit his country on the accession of Queen Mary, took his son abroad with him, where, at Wittemburg, he was educated under the celebrated Melancthon. When the death of Queen Mary had put an end to persecution for the sake of religion, Mr. Rogers, senior, returned with his family, and placed his son at Oxford, where he appears to have taken his degree. Afterwards he obtained an introduction to Court, where his talents recommended him to the place of one of the clerks to the Council, and he had the further honour of being employed by Queen Elizabeth in embassies to the Netherlands and other parts. In these embassies he appears to have acted with wisdom, diligence, and caution, and to have been of the greatest utility to Cecil, from the correct information he procured of the proceedings of foreign governments. Many of his letters and instructions are preserved in the Cottonian and Harleian MSS. at the British Museum. He died February 11, 1590, and was buried in Sunbury church, in Middlesex. Among the Harleian papers is his letter to Ortelius,

[2] *State Papers*, Denmark, 1432 to 1588, No. 1, p. 116. See also Bishop John Moore's Coll. of MSS. in Public Library, Cambridge, No. 9670 (18), (*cf.* Cat. of MSS. iii, p. 205); Cotton MSS. Nero B., 3, 106; Harl. MS. 168, fol. 67; Lansd. MS. 155, fol. 204; Sloane MS. 2442, 11, fol. 77; 5 Peake MS. imperfect, and Hist. MS. Com. 2nd report, p. 97, b.

brother, pretendinge, by vertue of an old league, that our subiects might not traffique into the parte beyonde Norwaye, which allegation tendeth wholie to the Cuttinge of the said traffique in to Russia; and we, for our parts, not then presentelie findinge out suche recordes of former treaties betwene our progenitours and his, as might haue satisfied our good brother therin, in all respect desired that ther might be Commissioners appoynted on both parts to examyne the right of the Cause, and to determine therof, by vertue of Commission from vs, in suche manner and sorte as shalbe thought meete and Conueniente for both realmes; and accordinge to the said motion made by vs, it hath bene agreed and accorded by vs both to sende both our Ministers and Commissioners to the towne of *Embden*, against 24th of this presente moneth of Iulye, to th'end and purpose aforesaid. We haue thought good, and so our will and pleasure is, that you do forthwith make your repayre to the said towne of *Embden*, that you may be ther ready at the tyme appoynted to Conferre with the Commissioners of the said kinge, our good Brother, vppon the Controuersie moued in suche manner and sorte, as by our Commission giuen vnto you we haue authorised you in that behalfe.

And in the entraunce of your Conference you shall declare vnto the Ambassadours of the kinge, our brother, in howe great good parte we accepted the motion of this meetinge of Commissioners euer since the first tyme it pleased him to make an ouerture of it by a

dated 20th October 1572, at Antwerp, complimenting him on the glory he would reap from posterity by his geographical works, and concluding with the mention of his own commentary on the laws and manners of the ancient Britons. (Chalmers' *Biog. Dict.*) From a brief notice among the Lansdowne papers (982, fo. 168) it appears that Daniel Rogers was sent to Germany in 1580, with reference to a religious controversy which had sprung up in Saxony, and which he was instructed to settle by being the means of calling a synod. This mission, however, appears to have cost him his liberty, for in a letter from the Lords of the Council, dated 28th January 1584, the Archbishop of Canterbury is asked to recommend to the clergy that they should contribute towards the enlargement and return of Daniel Rogers, sent by Her Majesty into Germany to prevent a division and schism among the Protestants, and taken prisoner by the way (*cf.* Harl. MS. 33, c. 9, fo. 327).

seruaunt of our owne, *Iohn* [Foxall?], who brought vs nowe long since that euident and honourable testimonye of the earnest desyre the said kinge, our Brother, had not onlye in all Controuersies that might arise betwene vs, our subiects, and realmes, to haue them Compounded in frendly sort, but also to enter into a straighter kinde of intelligence then hath heretofore passed betwene vs and our Progenitours. In consideration wherof, and for diuerse other good respects, we could not but like well of this Colloquye and Conference, and dispose ourselues to further it the best and most ways we coulde.

In which Colloquie and Conference together, our will and pleasure is, you shall vse all the best reasons you can, as you shalbe prepared therunto before by Conference had with Dr. *Dale*[1] and the Iudge of the Admiraltie for the Iustice of the Cause, and other our merchants who can therin sufficientlie enforme howe necessarie the said voyage is for our realme and subiects to persuade the continewance of our Merchants said traffique into the Dominions and Countries of the Muscouite, with whom you may declare vnto them, we wold haue forborne to haue entred into any suche kinde of Intelligence, if we had not bene throughly and sufficientlye persuaded by vewe of all former leagues, made betwene our Auncestors and the kings of Denmarke, ther was no barre to restrayne vs, and that the intelligence it selfe was of suche nature & condicion that it could not be but verie honorable for vs, and profitable for our subiects. So that you may declare vnto them from vs that our trust is, when they shall haue sene what we can alleadge for our iust and honorable dealinge therin, beinge a trade of longe continewance, vsed with great freedome in the tyme of the raign of our deare brother, king *Edwarde* the sixte, and so continewed in the tyme of our deare Sister, Queene *Marye*, receauinge in those dayes a Ratification from our said deare Sister and Kinge *Phillippe*, our Brother, that they will so conclude, by vertue of their authoritie giuen them from our good Brother, the kinge, as that the foresaid traffique of our subiects in

[1] Valentine Dale, LL.D., of Cambridge University, a man of good wit and intelligence, was employed on various important commissions during Elizabeth's reign. See *Athenæ Cantabrigienses*, vol. ii, p. 62.

those parts beyonde Norwaye may be continewed, and the good Intelligence that hath bene betwene vs and our realmes confirmed.

And for that our Merchants haue made complaynte vnto vs of newe impositions layed vppon them in the parts and places of the kinge, our good brothers, Dominions wher they vse to traffique, which haue not bene vsed in former tymes, you shall (vppon instructions receaued from our Merchants what the said impositions are, and in what place exacted vppon them) declare vnto the said Commissioners our earnest request vnto our good brother, the kinge, is, that suche payes and customes as haue bene of late years imposed vppon our Merchants may be reuolked to the former & auncient order, and that, amongest other things which shalbe ordered and agreed vpon in this Colloquye, the same may be decreed and sett downe as an article which, in all treaties of traffique and commerce of one nation with another, is of great substance and momente.

And in case they shall make any ouerture vnto you of a desyre, that the kinge, our brother, hath to enter into a further and straighter bonde of amitye & intelligence with vs then hath bene concluded by any former treaties, you shall require them to sett downe suche poyntes and articles as they conceaue our good brother, the kinge, wold haue accorded and agreed by vs; that vpon aduertismente therof sent vnto vs, because (as you may declare vnto them) you haue no speciall charge in that behalfe, you may receaue therin suche direction from vs as, vppon our good likinge of the same, may be to the good and full satisfaction of our good brother the Kinge.

Sir,—In anno 77, *D. Rogers* & Maister *Ienkinson*[1] were sent Commissioners to treate with ye kinge of Denmarkes Commissioners about ye trafficque of her Maiesties subjects into ye partes beyond Norwey, and about ye matter of Toles & new Impositions, leuied by that kinge vpon her Highnesses subiects' goods & marchandises tradinge throgh ye Sound.

This treatie had this ende, that ye matters there treated of were referred to ye pleasure of both their Maiestyes, to be further

[1] *State Papers*, Denmark, 1432 to 1588, No. 1, p. 130.

orderred by other treatie, when more conuenient time serued: in ye meane, ye kinge persisteth in his demand for ye stay of that trade to Muscouia.

Which said demaund ye said kinge hath, from time to time, yerely euer since renewed; and her Maiestie answered in friendly sort, as in honor & equitie ye cause required.

Ye wordes ye kinge inforceth for ye maintenance of his demaund are in ye treatie made in anno 1449, betwene *Henry* 6. & *Christierne*, and are these, *Versus Islandiam, Halgalandiam, etc.*, which treatie was to continew & stand in force but two yeres, and in all other treaties made after, ye said word *versus* was left out, and full & free libertie giuen to ye subiects of England, *per mare, flumina, aquas dulces et salsas quascunque nauigare, etc.*, as appeareth in ye treaties made betwene *Edward* 4. & *Christierne*, anno 1465, & *Henry* 7. & *Iohn*, kinge of Denmarke, anno 1490, & *Henry* 8. & *Christierne*.

Ye clause of her Maiesties letter of ye 11 April anno 77, which ye Chanceler so strictly standeth on: *Quod quidem officium, eo splendidius et augustius sese conspiciendum præbet, quo est eo vno facto prouisum fortunis multorum et negotium ipsum ad pleniorem tractatum in confessu Commissariorum nostrorum habendum refertur. Quæ sane res faciunt, vt iis nominibus ingentes s.v. et agamus et habeamus gratias. Loquimur autem de libera proximaque hac nostrorum subditorum ad Ruthenos æstiuali nauigatione per vos concessa, donec res ipsa et caput ipsum inter nos controuersum, amica et fraterna consentione componi queat. Quæ quidem venia et profectionis donatio, gratitudinis omne meritum a nobis flagitat, et studium habebit.*

C. 17.

Endorsed: Notes how the treaty hath been proceaded in with ye Kinge of Denmark, touching the trade beyond Norway.

THE ORDER OF HER MAIESTIES PROCEEDINGS FROM TYME TO TYME WITH YE KINGE OF DENMARK, TOUCHING THE NORWAY NAUIGATION.[1]

5 May A°. 1576.—The king of Denmarke requyred of her Maiestie that her subiects might not trade by Norway into Moscouia, pretending a prohibition made by the consent of *Edward* the fourth, as appeareth by a Treatie of that tyme.

27 Iune A°. eodem.—To this pretence and alligation of the said Treatie, her Maiestie answered that shee cold find no such Treatie made by kinge *Edward* the fourth, nether any words tending to that meaning in any other treatie: Desyred that according (as motion had bene made before in his name by *Foxall*)[2] Commissioners might be appoynted on both syd[e]s to consider vppon the matter, that accordingly such order might be taken betweene both their Maiesties as shold best like them.

4 Nouem. A°. eodem.—The kinge reioyneth, sending hither Maister *Iames Huitfield*, with Letters conteyning his former clayme and vouche of the treatye with *Edward* 4, in eadem verba, for the prohibition of the said Nauigation, accepteth th'offer of Deputacion of Commissioners.

11 Ian. A°. eod.—Her Maiestie persisteth in her answeare as before, alleadging that no such treatie cold be found, thanketh the kinge for accepting th'appoynting of Commissioners, prayeth that their meeting may be at *Embden*, and that, vntill the said meeting, nothing may be attempted against her subiects said traffique into the said Country by the said waye.

1 March A°. 1577.—The kinge is content to forbeare vntill the meeting of the Commissioners, which he desyreth may be putt of from the 25th of Maye vntill the 25th of Iuly, at which tyme they shall not fayle to meet with her Maiesties Commissioners at *Embden*.

6 Iuly A°. eod.—Her Maiestie dispatcheth *Iohn Rogers*, Doctor of Lawe, and *Anthony Ienkinson*, gentleman, as Commissioners, to deale with the kinges Commissioners at *Embden*. The somme of

[1] *State Papers*, Denmark, 1432 to 1588, No. 1, p. 170.

[2] *Cf. ante*, p. 346.

their Instruccions and Commission was to lay forth before the Commissioners such matters as by auncient treaties they had to shewe for the Lawefullnes of that trade, to pray the continuance therof, and procure establishment.

The Commissioners meet at *St. Georges* Chappell, and in their long Conference, which continewed there vntill th'end of August, they cold not agree betweene themselues vppon th'interpretacion of the word *versus*, wherby that Article was referred to both their Maiesties to determyne therin what they cold best agree vppon.

12 Sept. A°. eod.—The kinge, at the retourne of her Maiesties Commissioners, signifyeth his mislike that the Article in controuersie betweene their Maiesties shold be decyded by Lawe poynts; descendeth to the equitie of the Treaties, which was that *Vectigalia Oresandensia* shold not be lessened by any other Nauigations, which was done by this Nauigation, and therfore, by the equity of the Treaties, it shold be debarred and restrayned; deferreth the determination of this cause vntill further opportunity, prayeth in the meane season that the said Nauigation may be forborne.

8 Decemb. 82.—After this the matter remayned in suspence vntill the Lord *Willoughby* his sending into Denmark with the Garter; at which tyme some thing was moued in it, but no effect followed. After his Lordships returne, the Chauncellor of Denmarke wrote to Maister Secreatary, deliuering his opinion in that matter, and aduise what meanes he thought might most conueniently be taken to appease the kinges mynde, and to establishe the said trade, which was, in case the Merchants of England wold be content to yeld the kinge some small acknowledgement yearely.

25 Ian. 82.—Maister Secretary defendeth her Maiesties cause, alledging the Treaties and interpretacions of the same, fauouring and standing wholly with her Maiesties doings, prayeth the Chauncellour to be a meanes that th'amitye betweene their Maiesties may be continewed, and by this occasion receaue no breache.

3 Marche 82.—The kinge of Denmark, by a messenger expressely sent, renueth his former demaund for prohibiting that

traffique; requyreth an other Conference of some Ministers to be sent from her Maiestie.

12 Aprill 83.—Her Maiesty, thanking him for that Request, promiseth to dispatch some one forthwith with sufficient authoritye for that Conference.

16 May 83.—Accordingly Maister *Iohn Herbert* was dispatched, with Instruccions to stand as long as he cold to the maintenance of her Maiesties right in the freedome of the said Nauigation; and in case he cold not preuaile with that course, then to drawe to enter into some way of composition in such sort as by the Merchants he shold be directed: which course her Maiestie was content to take, not for any opinion she conceaued of th'inualidityе of her right, but only at the humble intreaty of her subiects.

22 Iune 83.—Maister *Herbert* concludeth with the kinges Commissioners continewaunce of the said free traffique with condicion that the Merchants of England shall paye yearly *in recognitionem dictæ concessionis* one hundreth Roasenobles, or to the value therof in other coyne, to the kinge at *Elsenore*, the said payement to begin in the spring next in A° 84, and to continewe during both their Maiesties lyves.

12 Octob. A° 83.—This Conclusion and Agreement being sent ouer by a minister of the kinge, was accepted of by her Maiesty, and by reason of certaine doubtfull poynts therin conteyned, a dilucidation sent ouer to the kinge vnder her Maiesties hand and seall, her highnes by Letters requesting the kinge to send her the like vnder his hand and seall. The particular forme of Concession and Acceptation, with all things therunto belonging, are together in a bundle, and are to be entered in the Queenes Booke of the Treatises.

Endorsed: Her Maiesties proceedings by Treatie with ye Kinge of Denmarke about her subiects trade into Moscouye by Norwaye.

C. 11. 12 Oct. 1583.

Dennemarke.

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I.

The voyage wherein Osepp Napea, the Moscouite Ambassadour, returned home into his Countrey, with his entertainment at his arrival at *Colmogro;* and a large description of the manners of the Countrey.[1]

The twelfth of Maye, in the yeere of our Lorde 1567 [1557], there departed from Grauesende foure good shippes, well appointed for Marchants, which were presently bound into the Baye of *S. Nicholas*, in *Russia*, with which shippes was transported or caried home one *Osepp Gregoriwiche Napea*, who was sent messenger from the Emperour and Great Duke of *Moscouia*. The foure shippes were these whose names followe, viz. :

The *Primerose*, Admirall.

The *Iohn Euangelist*, Vice-admirall.

The *Anne* and the *Trinitie*, attendants.[2]

The 13. of Iuly the foresaide foure shippes came to an anker in the Baye of *S. Nicholas*, before an Abbey, called the Abbey of *S. Nicholas*, whereas the saide Messenger, *Osepp Gregoriwich Napea*, went a shoare, and as many Englishmen as came to serue the Emperour remained with him at the Abbey for the space of sixe daies; and the saide Messenger was there of all his acquaintance welcommed home, and had presents innumerable sent vnto him, but it was nothing but meate and drinke. Some sent white bread, some rie bread, and some buttered breade and pancakes, beefe, mutton, bacon, eggs, butter, fishes, swannes, geese, duckes, hennes, and all manner of victuals, both fishe

Presents vsed in Russia, are all for the most part of victuals.

[1] *Hakl.*, 1589, pp. 338-347. The authorship of this narrative is attributed by Dr. Hamel to Robert Best, who probably acted as interpreter to Napea in London, and afterwards to Jenkinson; *cf. Hamel*, p. 128. Mr. Hare, in his *Studies in Russia*, erroneously credits Jenkinson with it.

[2] *Cf. ante*, p. 10.

and flesh, in the best manner that the rude people could deuise, for among them these presents are highly esteemed.

The 29. of Iuly we departed from *Colmogro*, and the 14 of August we came to *Vstioug*, where we remained one day, and changed our barkes, or boates.

The 27. of August wee came to *Vologhda*, where we remained foure daies, vnlading the barkes, and lading our chestes and thinges in small waggons with one horse in a peece, which in their tongue are called *Telegos*,[1] and with these *Telegoes* they caried our stuffe from *Vologhda* vnto the *Musko*, which is 500 verstes; and we were vpon the same way 14. daies, for we went no faster than the *Teligoes*.

There are three great townes betweene the *Musko* and *Vologhda*, that is to say, *Yereslaue*, *Rostaue*, & *Pereslaua*. Vpon one side of *Yereslaua* runneth a famous riuer, which is called *Volga*. It runneth into the *Caspian* sea, and it deuideth itselfe before it come into the *Mare Caspium* in 50 parts or more; and neere vnto the same sea there stands a great citie called *Boghare*,[2] the inhabitants of the which are called by the same name.

The citie of Boghare.

The people of the saide Citie doe traffique into the Citie of *Musko*; their commodities are spices, muske, ambergreese, rubarbe, with other drugs. They bring also many furres, which they buy in *Siberia*, comming towards the *Mosko*. The said people are of the sect of Mahomet.

The 12. of September we came vnto the citie of *Mosco*, where we were brought by *Napea* and two of the Emperours gentlemen vnto a large house, where euery one of vs had his chamber appointed.

[1] *Telegos*. The teléga is the cart commonly used by the Russian peasants. It consists of two axles, four wheels, a pair of shafts, and the box or framework to contain the load. The whole vehicle is small, inconvenient, and only adapted to bad roads and a low stage of civilisation. The word is derived from *tal*, a dole or fraction, and *igo*, a burthen—more often used in the moral sense; hence, its earliest use may have been associated with the idea of servitude peculiar to those Scythians who, according to some ethnologists, are supposed to have been the ancestors of the Slavs.

[2] *Boghare*, *i.e.*, Bokhara. *Cf. ante*, p. 81.

The 14. of September we were commanded to come vnto the Emperour, and immediately after our comming wee were brought into his presence, vnto whom each of vs did his dutie accordingly, and kissed his right hand, his maiestie sitting in his chaire of estate, with his crowne on his head, and a staff of goldsmiths worke in his left hand well garnished with rich and costly stones; and when we had all kissed his hand and done our duties, his maiestie did declare by his interpreter that we were all welcome vnto him, and into his countrey, and thereupon willed vs to dine with him; that day we gaue thanks vnto his maiestie, and so departed vntill the dinner was ready. They arriued at Mosco.

When dinner time approched, we were brought againe into the Emperours dining chamber, where we were set on one side of a table that stood ouer against the Emperours table, to the ende that he might well behold vs all; and when we came into the foresaid chamber, we found there readie set these tables folowing:

First, at the vpper end of one table were set the Emperour his maiestie, his brother, and the Emperour of *Cassan*,[1] which is prisoner. About two yardes lower sate the Emperour of *Cassan* his sonne, being a child of fiue yeeres of age; and beneath him sate the most part of the Emperours noble men.

And at another table, neere vnto the Emperours table, there was set a monke all alone, which was in all points as well serued as the Emperor. At another table sate another kind of people, called *Chirkasses*,[2] which the Emperor entertaineth for men of warre to serue against his enemies. Of which people and of their countrey I will hereafter make mention.

All the tables aforesaid were couered onely with salt and bread; and after that we had sitten a while, the Emperour sent vnto euery one of vs a piece of bread, which were giuen and deliuered

[1] *Cf. ante*, pp. 31, 49.

[2] *Chirkasses* (Cherkesses), the inhabitants of the country lying north of the Caucasus. They had taken the oath of allegiance to Russia, and asked to be led against the Krim Tarters (*Karamsin*, viii, p. 252). To this day, Cherkesses, clad in shirts of mail and wearing steel helmets, take part in military pageants at the Russian Court.

vnto euery man seuerally by these words: *The Emperour and great Duke giueth thee bread this day;* and in like maner three or four times before dinner was ended hee sent vnto euery man drinke, which was giuen by these words: *The Emperour and great Duke giueth thee to drinke.* All the tables aforesaid were serued in vessels of pure and fine golde, as well basons and ewers, platters, dishes, and sawcers, as also of great pots, with an innumerable sort of small drinking pottes of diuers fashions, whereof a great number were set with stone. As for costly meates, I haue many times seene better; but for change of wines and diuers sortes of meads, it was wonderfull, for there was not left at any time so much voyd roume on the table that one cuppe more might haue bene set, and as far as I could perceiue, all the rest were in the like maner serued.

In the dinner time there came in sixe singers, which stood in the midst of the chamber, and their faces towards the Emperour, who sang there before dinner was ended three seuerall times, whose songs or voices delighted our eares little or nothing.

The Emperour neuer putteth morsell of meate in his mouth but he first blesseth it himselfe, and in like maner as often as he drinketh, for after his maner he is very religious, and he esteemeth his religious persons aboue his noble men.

This dinner continued about the space of fiue howers, which being ended, and the tables taken vp, we came into the midst of the chamber, where we did reuerence vnto the Emperours maiestie, and then he deliuered vnto euery one of vs with his owne handes a cup of mead, which when euery man had receiued and drunke a quantitie thereof, we were licensed to depart: and so ended that dinner. And because the Emperour would haue vs to be mery, hee sent to our lodging the same Euening 3. barrels of mead of sundry sortes, of the quantitie in all of one hogshead.

The 16. day of September the Emperour sent home vnto our lodging for euery of vs a Tartarie horse, to ride from place to place as we had occasion, for that the streetes of *Mosco* are very fowle and mirie in the Summer.

The 18. of September there were giuen vnto Master *Standish*,[1] doctor in Phisike, and the rest of our men of our occupations, certaine furred gownes of branched veluet and golde, and some of red Damaske, of which master Doctors gowne was furred with Sables, and the rest were furred some with white Ermine and some with gray squirrell, and all faced and edged round about with blacke beauer. Master Standish, doctor of Phisike.

The 1. of October, in the morning, we were commanded to come vnto ye Emperors court, and when we came thether we were brought vnto ye Emperor, vnto whom we did our duties accordingly, wherupon he willed vs to dine with him that day; & so with thanks vnto his maiestie, we departed vntil dinner time, at which time we came and found the tables couered with bread and salt as at the first. And after that we were all set vpon one side of the table, the Emperours maiestie, according to his accustomed maner, sent vnto euery man of vs a piece of bread by some of the Dukes which attended on his highnesse.

And whereas the 14. of September we were serued in vessels of gold, we were now serued in vessels of siluer, and yet not so abundantly as was the first of gold. They brought drinke vnto the table in siluer boles, which conteined at the least sixe gallons a piece, and euery man had a small siluer cuppe to drinke in and another to dip or to take his drinke out of the great boll withall. The dinner being ended, the Emperor gaue vnto euery one of vs a cup with mead, which when we had receiued, we gaue thanks and departed.

Moreouer, whensoeuer the Emperours pleasure is that any stranger shall dine with him, hee doth send for them in the morning, and when they come before him, hee with his owne mouth biddeth them to dinner: and this order he alwayes obserueth.

The 10. of October the Emperor gaue vnto Master *Standish* 70. rubbles in money, and to the rest of our men of occupations 30. rubbles a piece.

The 3. of Nouember we dined againe with the Emperour, where we were serued as before.

[1] Dr Standish came to Russia with Jenkinson in 1557.—*Hamel*, p. 158.

The 6. of December being *S. Nicholas* day, we dined againe at the Emperours, for that is one of the principall feasts which the Moscouites hold. We were serued in siluer vessels, and ordred in all points as before, and it was past 7. of the clocke at night before dinner was ended.

Long dinners.

The Emperours maiestie vseth euery yeere in the moneth of December to haue all his ordinance that is in the citie of *Mosko* caried into the fields, which is without the suburbes of the citie, and there to haue it planted and beat vpon two houses of wood filled within with earth. Against which two houses there were two faire white markes set vp, at which markes they did discharge all their ordinaunce, to the ende the Emperor may see what his Gunners can doe. They haue faire ordinance[1] of brasse of all sortes, bases, faulcons, minions, sakers, culuerings, cannons double and royall, basiliskes long and large. They haue sixe great pieces whose shot is a yard of heigth, which shot a man may easily discerne as they flee. They haue also a great many of morter pieces or potguns,[2] out of which pieces they shoote wild fire.[3]

Ordinance in Russia.

The 12. of December the Emperours maiestie and all his nobilitie came into the field on horsebacke, in most goodly order, hauing very fine Iennets and Turkie horses, garnished with gold & siluer abundantly; the Emperours maiestie hauing on him a gowne of rich tissue, & a cap of skarlet on his head, set not only with pearles, but also with a great number of rich and costly stones. His noblemen were all in gownes of cloth of gold, which did ride before him in good order by 3. & 3. And before them there went 5000. harquebuzzers, which went by 5. and 5. in a ranke in very good order, euery of them carying his gunne vpon his left shoulder, and his match in his right hand, and in this

A yeerely triumph.

[1] Prince Vasili Iyanovitch, father of Ivan IV, had German and Italian cannon founders, but the use of the different kinds of artillery was not understood in his time. In 1554-5 two large cannon were cast at Mosco—one weighing 1200 lbs., with a mouth 15 ins. in diameter; the other 1020 lbs. and 14 ins. in diameter at the mouth. —*Herberstein* in Hakl. Soc., i, 98; *Hamel*, p. 131.

[2] Potguns, a name for a short, wide cannon, shaped like a pot.—Nares's *Glossary*.

[3] *I.e.*, Greek fire.

order they marched into the field, where as the foresaid ordinance was planted.

And before the Emperours maiestie came into the field there was a certaine stage made of small poles, which was a quarter of a mile long, and about three score yardes off from the Stage of poles were certaine pieces of ice of two foote thicke and sixe foote high set vp, which ranke of ice was as long as the stage of poles where they setled themselues in order. And when the Emperours maiestie was setled where he would be, and where he might see all the ordinance discharged and shot of, the harquebuzzers began to shoot of at the banke of ice as though it had bene in any skirmish or battel, who ceased not shooting vntil they had beaten all the ice flat on the ground.

After the handguns, they shot of their wild fire vp in to the aire which was a goodly sight to behold. And after this they began to discharge the small pieces of brasse, beginning with the smallest, and so orderly bigger and bigger, vntil the last and biggest. When they had shot them all of, they began to charge them againe, and so shot them all of 3. times after the first order, beginning with the smallest and ending with the greatest. And note that before they had ended their shooting, the 2. houses that they shot vnto were beaten in pieces, and yet they were very strongly made of Wood and filled with earth, being at the least 30. foote thicke. This triumph being ended, the Emperour departed, and rode home in the same order that he came foorth into the field. The ordinance is discharged euery yeere in the moneth of December, according to the order before mentioned.

On Christmas day we were all willed to dine with the Emperours maiestie, where for bread, meat, and drinke we were serued as at other times before; but for goodly and rich plate, we neuer saw the like or so much before. There dined that day in the Emperours presence aboue 500. strangers and two hundred Russes, and all they were serued in vessels of gold, and that as much as could stand one by another vpon the tables. Besides this there were foure cupboards garnished with goodly plate, both of gold and siluer. Among the which there were 12. barrels of siluer, conteining about 12. gallons a piece, and at each end of euery

barrell were 6. hoopes of fine gold. This dinner continued about 6. howers.

The hallowing of the riuer of Mosco.

Euery yeere, vpon the twelfe day, they vse to blesse or sanctifie the riuer *Moska*, which runneth through the citie of *Moskouia*, after this maner.

First, they make a square hole in the ice about 3. fadoms large euery way, which is trimmed about the sides and edges with white boords. Then about 9. of the clocke they come out of the church with procession towards the riuer in this wise.

First and foremost, there goe certaine yong men with Waxe tapers burning, and one carying a great lanterne. Then follow certaine banners, then the crosse, then the images of our Ladie, of S. Nicholas, and of other Saints, which images men carrie vpon their shoulders. After the images follow certaine priests, to the number of 100 or more; after them the Metropolitan, who is led betweene two priests; and after the Metropolitan came the Emperour, with his crowne vpon his head; and after his maiestie all his noble men orderly. Thus they folowed the procession vnto the water; & when they came vnto the hole that was made, the priests set themselues in order round about it. And at one side of the same poole there was a scaffold of boords made, vpon which stood a faire chaire, in which the Metropolitan was set, but the Emperours maiestie stood vpon the ice.

After this the priests began to sing, to blesse and to sense, and did their seruice, and so by that time that they had done the water was holy, which being sanctified, the Metropolitane tooke a little thereof in his handes and cast it on the Emperour, likewise vpon certaine of the Dukes, and then they returned againe to the church with the priests that sate about the water. But ye preasse [press] that there was about the water when the Emperor was gone was wonderful to behold, for there came about 5000. pots to be filled of that water; for that Muscouite which hath no part of that water thinks himselfe vnhappy.

And very many went naked into the water, both men and women and children. After the prease was a litle gone, the Emperours lennets and horses were brought to drinke of the same water, and likewise many other men brought their horses thither to drinke;

and by that means they make their horses as holy as themselues.[1]

All these ceremonies being ended, we went to the Emperour to dinner, where we were serued in vessels of siluer, and in all other points as we had been before time.

The Russes begin their Lent alwayes 8 weekes before Easter. The first weeke they eate egges, milke, cheese, & butter, and make great cheare with pancakes and such other things, one friend visiting another; & from the same Sunday vntil our Shrofsunday there are but few Russes sober, but they are drunke day by day, and it is accounted for no reproch or shame among them. The Russes Lent.

The next weeke, being our first weeke of Lent, or our cleansing weeke, beginning our Shrofesunday, they make and keepe a great fast. It is reported, and the people doe verily beleeue, that the Metropolitan neither eateth nor drinketh any maner of thing for the space of seuen dayes, and they say that there are many religious men which do the like.

The Emperours maiestie eateth but one morsell of bread and drinketh but one draught of drinke once in the day during that weeke, and all men that are of any reputation come not out of their houses during that time, so that the streets are almost void of company, sauing a few poore folkes which wander to and fro. The other sixe weekes they keepe as we do ours, but not one of them will eate either butter, cheese, egges, or milke.

On Palme Sunday they haue a very solemne procession in this maner folowing:

First, they haue a tree of a good bignesse, which is made fast upon two sleds, as though it were growing there, and it is hanged with apples, raisins, figs, and dates, and with many other fruits abundantly. In the midst of the same tree stand 5 boyes in white vestures, which sing in the tree before the procession. After this there folowed certaine yong men with waxe tapers in their hands, burning, and a great lanterne, that all the light should not goe out. After them folowed two with long banners, and 6. with round plates set vpon long staues. The plates were of copper,

[1] *Cf. ante*, p. 33.

very ful of holes and thinne. Then folowed 6. carying painted images vpon their shoulders; after the images follow certaine priests, to the number of 100. or more, with goodly vestures, whereof 10. or 12. are of white damaske, set and imbrodered round about with faire and orient pearles, as great as pease, and among them certaine Saphires and other stones. After them followed the one halfe of the Emperours noble men. Then commeth the Emperours maiestie and the Metropolitane, after this maner:

First, there is a horse, couered with white linnen cloth down to the ground, his eares being made long with the same cloth, like to an asses eares. Vpon this horse the Metropolitane sitteth side long like a woman. In his lappe lieth a faire booke with a crucifix of Goldsmiths worke vpon the couer, which he holdeth fast with his left hand, and in his right hand he hath a crosse of gold, with which crosse he ceaseth not to blesse the people as he rideth.

There are to the number of 30. men, which spread abroad their garments before the horse; and as soon as the horse is past ouer any of them, they take them vp againe and run before, and spred them againe, so that the horse doth alway go on some of them. They which spred the garments are all priests sonnes, and for their labours the Emperour giueth vnto them new garments.

The Emperour leadeth the Metropolitans horse in procession.

One of the Emperours noble men leadeth the horse by the head, but the Emperour himselfe, goying on foote, leadeth the horse by the ende of the reine of his bridle with one of his hands, and in the other of his hands he had a braunch of a Palme tree. After this followed the rest of the Emperours Noble men and Gentlemen, with a great number of other people. In this order they went from one church to another within the castle, about the distaunce of two flights shot, and so returned agayne to the Emperours Church, where they made an end of their seruice. Which being done, the Emperours maiestie and certaine of his noble men went to the Metropolitane his house to dinner, where of delicate fishes and good drinks there was no lacke.

The rest of this weeke, vntill Easter day, they keepe very solemnely, continuing in their houses for the most part, and vpon Munday and Thursday the Emperour doth alwayes vse to receiue the Sacrament, and so doth most of his nobles.

Vpon good Friday they continue all the day in contemplation and prayers, and they vse euery yeere, on good Friday, to let loose a prisoner in the stead of Barabbas. The night folowing they go to the church, where they sleepe vntil the next morning; & at Easter they haue the resurrection, and after euery of the Lents they eate flesh, the next weeke folowing, Friday, and Saturday, and all.

They haue an order at Easter which they alwaies obserue, and that is this: euery yeere, against Easter, to die or colour red with Brazzell, a great number of egges, of which euery man and woman giueth one vnto the priest of their Parish, vpon Easter day in the morning. And, moreouer, the common people vse to carrie in their hands one of these red egges, not onely vpon Easter day, but also three or foure dayes after; and Gentlemen and Gentlewomen haue egges gilded, which they carrie in like maner. They vse it, as they say, for a great loue, and in token of the resurrection, whereof they reioyce. For when two friends meete during the Easter holydayes, they come and take one another by the hand; the one of them saieth, the Lord or Christ is risen, the other answereth, it is so of a trueth, and then they kisse and exchange their egges, both men and women continuing in kissing 4. dayes together. Kissing vsed in the Greeke church.

The 12. of Aprill, being Tewesday in the Easter weeke, Master *Ienkinson* and Master *Graie*, and certaine other of vs Englishmen, dined with the Emperour, where we were serued as we had bene before time. And after dinner the Emperours maiestie gaue vnto master *Ienkinson* and vnto Master *Gray*, and so orderly vnto euery one of vs, a cuppe of mead, according to his accustomed maner, which when euery man had receiued and giuen thanks, Master *Ienkinson* stepped into the midst of the chamber before the Emperors maiestie, and gaue thanks to his highnes for his goodnesse vnto him extended, desiring his grace to licence him for to depart; and in like manner did Master *Gray*. His maiestie did not onely licence them to depart, but also graunted vnto Master *Ienkinson* his letter vnder his great seale, vnto all princes through whose dominions Master *Ienkinson* should haue occasion to passe, that he might the sooner and quietlier passe by meanes thereof.[1] Which being With these letters Master Ienkinson tooke his voiage the same April to Boghar.

[1] *Cf. ante*, p. 41.

granted, Master *Ienkinson* and *Gray* lowly submitted themselues, thanking his maiestie. So the Emperour gaue vnto either of them a cup of mead to drinke, and willed them to depart at their pleasure in Gods peace.

The 14. of Aprill, in the morning, when Master *Gray* and I were redie to depart towards England, the Chancellours sent vnto vs and willed vs to come to their office in the Chancerie, where at our comming they shewed vs a great number of the Emperours iewels and rich robes, willing us to marke and behold them well, to the ende that at our arriuall into England we might make report what we had seene there.

The Emperors wardrobe.

The chiefest was his maiesties crowne, being close vnder the top, very faire wrought; in mine opinion the workemanship of so much gold few men can amend. It was adorned and decked with rich and precious stones aboundantly, among the which, one was a rubie, which stood a handfull higher than the top of the crowne vpon a small wier; it was as big as a good beane. The same crowne was lined with a faire blacke Sable, worth by report 40 rubbles.

We saw all his maiesties robes, which were very richly set with stones; they showed vs many other great stones of diuers kinds, but the most part of them were vneuen, in maner as they came out of the worke, for they do more esteeme the greatnes of stones then they do the proportion of them.

We sawe two goodly gownes, which were as heauie as a man could easily carrie, all set with perles ouer and ouer. The gards or borders round about them were garnished with sapphires and other good stones abundantly. One of the same gownes was very rich, for the pearles were very large, round, and orient. As for the rest of his gownes and garments, they were of rich tissue and cloth of gold, and all furred with very blacke Sables.

When we had sufficiently perused all these thinges, they willed master *Gray*, at his arriuall in England, to prouide, if he could, such iewels and rich clothes as he had seene there, and better if hee could, declaring that the Emperour would gladly bestow his money vpon such things.

So we tooke our leaue the same time, and departed towards *Vologda* immediately.

The Maners, vsages, and Ceremonies of the Russes.

Of the Emperour.

THE Emperours name in their tongue is *Euan Vasiliuich*, that is as much to say, as Iohn the sonne of *Vasilie*, and by his princely state he is called *Otesara*, as his predecessors haue bene before, which, to interprete, is a king that giueth not tribute to any man. And this word *Otesara*, his maiesties interpreters haue of late dayes interpreted to be an Emperour, so that now he is called Emperour and great Duke of all Russia. &c. Before his father, they were neither called Emperours nor Kings, but onely *Ruese* [Kniaz[1]] *Velike*, that is to say, great Duke. And as this Emperour, which now is *Euan Vasiliuich*, doeth exceede his predecessours in name, that is, from a Duke to an Emperour, euen so much by report he doth exceed them in stoutnes of courage and valiantnesse, and a great deale more, for he is no more afraid of his enemies, which are not few, then the Hobbie[2] of the larks. Or Basilius.

His enemies, with whom he hath warres for the most, are these: *Litto*, *Poland*, *Sweden*, *Denmarke*, *Lifland*, the *Crimmes*, *Nagaians*, and the whole nation of the *Tartarians*, which are a stoute and a hardie people as any vnder the Sunne.

This Emperour vseth great familiaritie, as well vnto all his nobles and subiects, as also vnto strangers, which serue him either in his warres, or in occupations: for his pleasure is that they shall dine oftentimes in the yeere in his presence; and besides that he is oftentimes abroad, either at one Church or another, and walking with his noble men abroad. And by this meanes he is not only beloued of his nobles and commons, but also had in great

[1] *Kniaz*, a title of princely rank; perhaps derived from *Kon*, a horse (hence *Konung*, *König*, King), and originally applied by Slavs to every owner of a horse; in Croatia and Servia to the brothers of the King.—See *Karamsin*, i, p. 92.

[2] Hobby, a small, but strong-winged, falcon (*Falco subbuteo*), formerly trained for hawking.

dread and feare through all his dominions, so that I thinke no prince in Christendome is more feared of his owne then he is, nor yet better beloued. For if he bid any of his Dukes goe, they will runne; if he giue any euill or angrie worde to any of them, the partie will not come into his maiesties presence againe of a long time, if he be not sent for, but will faine him to be very sicke, and will let the haire of his head grow very long, without either cutting or shauing, which is an euident token that hee is in the Emperours displeasure: for when they be in their prosperitie, they account it a shame to weare long haire, in consideration whereof they vse to haue their heads shauen.

His Maiestie heareth all complaints himselfe, and with his owne mouth giueth sentence and iudgement of all matters, and that with expedition: but religious matters he medleth not withall, but referreth them wholy vnto the Metropolitane. His Maiestie retaineth and well rewardeth all straungers that come to serue him, and especially men of warre.

Hee delighteth not greatly in hawking, hunting, or any other pastime, nor in hearing instruments or musike, but setteth all his whole delight vpon two things: First, to serue God, as vndoubtedly he is very deuout in his religion; and the second, howe to subdue and conquere his enemies. He hath abundance of gold and siluer in his owne handes or treasurie: but the most part of his know not a crowne from a counter, nor gold from copper, they are so much combred therewithall; and he that is worth 2. 3. or 4. grotes, is a rich man.

Of their Religious men.

The Metropolitane is next vnto God, our Ladie and S. Nicholas excepted: for the Emperours maiestie iudgeth and affirmeth him to be of higher dignitie then himselfe; for that, saith he, he is Gods spirituall officer, and I the Emperour am his temporall officer; and therefore his Maiestie submitteth himselfe vnto him in many things concerning religious matters, as in leading the Metropolitans horse vpon Palme sunday, and giuing him leaue to sit on a chaire upon the 12. day, when the riuer *Mosco* was in blessing, and his maiestie standing on the ice.

All matters of religion are reformed by the Metropolitan, he heareth the causes and giueth sentence as himselfe listeth, and is authorized so to doe; whether it be to whip, hang, or burne, his will must needs be fulfilled.

They haue both monkes, friers, and nunnes, with a great number of great & rich monasteries; they keepe great hospitalitie, and doe relieue much poore people day by day. I haue bene in one of the monasteries called *Troietes*,[1] which is walled about with bricke very strongly, like a castle, and much ordinaunce of brasse vpon the wals of the same. They told me themselues that there are seuen hundred brethren of them which belong vnto that house. The most part of the lands, townes, and villages which are within fortie miles of it belong vnto the same. They shewed me the church, wherein were as many images as could hang about or vpon the wals of the church round about, and euen the roofe of the Church was painted full of images. The chiefe image was of our Ladie, which was garnished with gold, rubies, saphires, and other rich stones abundantly. In the midst of the church stood 12. waxe tapers of two yards long and a fathome about in bignesse, & there stands a kettle ful of waxe with about 100. waight, wherein there is alwaies the wicke of a candle burning, as it were a lampe which goeth not out day nor night.

They shewed mee a coffin covered with cloth of gold, which stoode vpon one side within their church, in which they told me lay a holy man, who neuer eate nor dranke, and yet that he liueth.[2] And they told me (supposing that I had beleeued them) that hee healeth many diseases, and giueth the blind their sight, with many other miracles: but I was hard of beliefe because I saw him worke no miracle whilest I was there.

After this they brought me into their sellers, and made me

[1] The famous Troitsa monastery (Troitskaya-Sergieva Lavra), thirty miles from Mosco. Its walls, founded in 1513 and finished in 1547, are one mile in circuit, thirty to fifty feet high, and twenty feet thick. It was to this monastery that Ivan IV, with his first wife Anastasia, made a pilgrimage in 1552 to return thanks for the birth of their first-born son, Dmitri.—*Karamsin*, viii, 212.

[2] Probably the relics of St. Sergius, shewn at the present day.

taste of diuers kinds of drinkes, both wine and beere, mead, and quassie of sundry colours and kinds. Such aboundance of drinke as they haue in their sellers I doe suppose few princes haue more, or so much at once.

Their barrels or vessels are of an vnmeasurable bignes and sise; some of them are 3. yards long and more, and 2. yards & more broad in their heads; they conteine 6. or 7. tunnes a piece; they haue none in their sellers of their owne making that are lesse then a tunne. They haue 9. or 10. great vautes, which are full of those barrels, which are seldome remooued: for they haue trunkes which come downe through the roofe of the vautes in sundry places, through which they powre the drinke downe, hauing the caske right vnder it to receiue the same, for it should be a great trouble to bring it all downe the staires.

The hospitalitie of their monasteries.

They giue bread, meat, and drinke vnto all men that come to them, not onely while they are at their abbey, but also when they depart, to serue them by the way.

There are a great number of such monasteries in the realme, and the Emperours Maiestie rideth oftentimes from one to another of them, and lieth at them 3. or 4. dayes together.

The same monkes are as great merchants as any in the land of Russia, and doe occupy buying and selling as much as any other men, and haue boates which passe too and fro in the riuers with merchandize from place to place where any other of their countrey doe traffique.

They eate no flesh during their liues, as it is reported; but vpon Sunday, Munday, Tuesday, Thursday, and Saturday, it is lawfull for them to eate egges, butter, cheese, and milke, and at all times to eate fish: and after this sort they lead their liues.

They weare all blacke garments, and so doe none other in all the land, but at that abbey onely.

Want of preachers cause of great ignorance and idolatrie.

They haue no preachers, no not one, in all the land to instruct the people, so that there are many & the most part of the poore in the country who, if one aske them how many gods there be, they will say a great many, meaning that euery image which they haue is a god: for all the countrey, and the Emperours Maiestie him-

selfe, will blesse and bowe, and knocke their heads before their images, in so much that they will crie earnestlie vnto their images to helpe them to the things which they need. All men are bound by their law to haue those images in their houses, and ouer every gate in all their townes and cities are images set vp, vnto which the people bowe and bend, and knocke their heads against the ground before them; as often as they come by any church or crosse they do in like manner. And when they come to any house, they blesse themselues 3. or 4. times before they will salute any man in the house.

They reckon and hold it for great sinne to touch or handle any of their images within the circle of the boord where the painting is, but they keepe them very daintely, and rich men decke them ouer and about with gold, siluer, and stones, and hang them ouer and about with cloth of gold.

The priests are married as other men are, and weare all their garments as other men doe, except their nightcappes, which is cloth of some sadde colour, beying rounde, and reacheth vnto the eares; theyr crownes are shauen, but the rest of their hayre they let grow, as long as nature will permit, so that it hangeth beneath their eares vpon their shoulders; their beards they neuer shaue; if his wife happen to die, it is not lawfull for him to mary againe during his life. They minister the Communion with bread and wine, after our order, but he breaketh the bread, and putteth it into the cuppe vnto the wine, and commonly some are partakers with them; & they take the bread out againe with a spoone, together with part of the wine, and so take it themselues, and giue it to others that receiue with them after the same maner.

Theyr ceremonies are all, as they say, according to the Greeke church vsed at this present day, and they allow no other religion but the Greeks and theyr owne, and will not permit any nation but the Greeks to be buried in their sacred burials or church-yards.

All theyr churches are full of images, vnto the which the people when they assemble doe bowe and knocke theyr heads, as I haue before said, that some will haue knobbes upon theyr foreheads with knocking, as great as egges.

All their seruice is in the Russe tongue, and they and the common people haue no other prayers but this, *Ghospodi Iesus Christos esine voze ponuloi nashe.* That is to say, O Lord Jesus Christ, sonne of God, haue mercy vpon us; and this is their prayer, so that the most part of the vnlearned know neither *Pater noster*, nor the Beliefe, nor ten commandements, nor scarcely vnderstand the one halfe of the seruice which is read in their churches.

Of their Baptisme.

When any childe is borne, it is not baptised vntill the next Sunday, and if it chance that it be not baptised then, it must tary vntill the second Sunday after the byrth; and it is lawfull for them to take as many Godfathers and Godmothers as they will, the more the better. When they go to the Church, the Midwife goeth formost, carying the childe, and the Godfathers and Godmothers follow into the midst of the Church, where there is a small table ready set, and on it an earthern pot full of warme water, about the which the Godfathers and Godmothers, with the childe, settle themselves: then the clearke giueth vnto euery of them a small waxe candle burning: then commeth the priest, and beginneth to say certeine words, which the Godfathers and Godmothers must answere word for word, among which, one is, that the childe shall forsake the deuill, and as that name is pronounced, they must all spit at the word as often as it is repeated. Then he blesseth the water which is in the pot, and doth breath ouer it; then he taketh all the candles which the gossips haue, and holding them all in one hand, letteth part of them droppe into the water, and then giueth euery one his candle againe; and when the water is sanctified, he taketh the childe and holdeth it in a small tubbe, and one of the Godfathers taketh the pot with warme water, and powreth it all upon the childes head.

After this he hath many more ceremonies, as annointing eares and eyes with spittle, and making certeine crosses with oyle vpon the backe, head, and brests of the childe: then taking the childe in his armes, carieth it to the images of S. Nicholas, and our Lady, &c., and speaketh vnto the images, desiring them to take charge

of the childe, that he may liue and beleeue as a Christian man or woman ought to doe, with many other words. Then comming backe from the images, he taketh a payre of sheeres and clippeth the yoong and tender hayres of the childes head in three or foure places, and then deliuereth the childe, whereunto euery of the Godfathers and Godmothers lay a hand; then the priest chargeth them that the childe be brought up in the faith & feare of God or Christ, and that it be instructed to clinege[1] and bow to the images, and so they make an end. Then one of the Godfathers must hang a crosse about the necke of the childe, which he must alwayes weare, for that Russe which hath not a crosse about his necke they esteeme as no Christian man, and thereupon they say that we are no Christians, because we do not weare crosses as they do.[2]

Of their Matrimonie.

Theyr matrimony is nothing solemnized, but rather in most points abhominable, and as neere as I can learne, in this wise following.

First, when there is loue betweene the parties, the man sendeth vnto the woman a small chest or boxe, wherein is a whippe, needles, thred, silke, linuen cloth, sheeres, & such necessaries as she shall occupy when she is a wife, and perhaps sendeth therewithall resons, figges, or some such thinges, giuing her to vnderstand that if she doe offend she must be beaten with the whippe, & by the needles, thred, cloth, &c., that she should apply her selfe diligently to sowe, and do such things as she could best doe; and by the raisins or fruites he meaneth if she doe well, no good thing shall be withdrawen from her, nor be too dere for her: and she sendeth vnto him a shirt, handkerchers, and some such things of her owne making. And now to the effect.

When they are agreed, and the day of marriage appointed, when they shall go towardes the church the bride will in no wise

[1] A Russian word *Kláiniatsa*, to bow, from the Greek κλίνειν whence our word *incline*.

[2] The account here given of the rite of baptism in the Græco-Russian Church is corroborated by H. C. Romanoff.—See *Rites and Customs of the Græco-Russian Church*, pp. 67-74.

consent to go out of the house, but resisteth and striueth with them that would have her out, and faineth herself to weepe; yet in the end, two women get her out, and lead her towards the church, her face being couered close, because of her dissimulation, that it should not be openly perceiued; for she maketh a great noyce, as though she were sobbing and weeping, vntill she come at the church, and then her face is vncouered. The man commeth after among other of his friends, and they carry with them to the church a great pot with wine or meade. Then the priest coupleth them together much after our order, one promising to loue and serue the other during theyr liues together &c. which being done, they beginne to drinke; and first the woman drinketh to the man, and when he hath drunke, he letteth the cuppe fall to the ground, hasting immediatly to tread upon it, and so doth she, and whether of them tread first vpon it must haue the victory, and be maister at all times after, which commonly happeneth to the man, for he is readiest to set his foot on it, because he letteth it fall himselfe. Then they go home againe, the womans face being vncouered. The boyes in the streetes cry out and make a noyce in the meanetime, with very dishonest words.

When they come home, the wife is set at the vpper end of the table, and the husband next vnto her; they fall then to drinking till they be all drunke. They perchance haue a minstrell or two, and two naked men, which led her from the Churche, dance naked a long time before all the company. When they are weary of drinking, the bride and the bridegrome get them to bed, for it is in the euening alwayes when any of them are marryed; and when they are going to bedde, the bridegrome putteth certeine money, both golde and siluer, if he haue it, into one of his boots, and then sitteth down in the chamber, crossing his legges, and then the bride must plucke off one of his boots, which she will, and if she happen on the boote wherein the money is, she hath not onely the mony for her labor, but is also at such choyce as she need not euer from that day foorth to pull of his boots; but if she misse the boot wherein the money is, she doth not onely loose the mony, but is also bound from that day forwards to pull off his boots continually.

Then they continue in drinking and making good cheere three dayes following, being accompanyed with certaine of their friends; and during the same three daies he is called a duke, & shee a dutches, although they be very poore persons, and this is as much as I haue learned of theyr matrimony. But one common rule is amongst them, if the woman be not beaten with the whip once a weeke, she will not be good, and therefore they look for it orderly; and the women say, that if theyr husbands did not beate them, they should not loue them.

They vse to marry there very yoong, their sonnes at 16. and 18. yeeres olde, and the daughters at 12. or 13. yeeres or yoonger: they vse to keepe their wiues very closely, I meane those that be of any reputation, so that a man shall not see one of them but at a chance, when she goeth to church at Christmas or at Easter, or els going to visit some of her friends.

The most part of the women vse to ride a stride in saddles with styrrups, as men do, and some of them on sleds, which in summer is not commendable. The husband is bound to finde the wife coulers to paint her withall, for they vse ordinarily to paint themselues. It is such a common practise among them, that it is counted for no shame; they grease their faces with such coulers, that a man may discerne them hanging on theyr faces almost a flight shoot off.[1] I can not so well liken them as to a millers wife, for they looke as though they were beaten about the face with a bag of meale; but theyr eye browes they couler as black as ieat [jet].

The women of Russia paint theyr faces.

The best property that the women haue is that they can sowe well, and imbroder with silke and golde excellently.

Of their Buriall.

When any man or woman dyeth, they stretch him out, and put a newe payre of shooes on his feet, because he hath a great iourney to goe; then do they winde him in a sheet, as we do, but they forget not to put a testimony in his right hand, which the priest

[1] *Cf. ante*, p. 37, *note* 2.

giueth him, to testifie vnto S. Nicholas that he dyed a Christian man or woman. And they put the coarse alwayes in a coffin of wood, although the partie be very poore; and when they go towards the church, the friends and kinsemen of the party departed carry in theyr handes small waxe candles, and they weepe and howle, and make much lamentation.

They that be hanged or beheaded, or such like, haue no testimony with them; how they are receiued into heauen it is a wonder, without their pasport. There are a great number of poore people among them, which die dayly for lacke of sustenance, which is a pitifull case to beholde; for there hath beene buried in a small time, within these two yeeres, about 80. persons, yoong and olde, which haue dyed onely for lacke of sustenance: for if they had had straw and water enough, they would make shift to liue, for a great many are forced in the winter to dry straw and stampe it, and to make bread thereof, or at least they eat it in stead of bread. In the summer they make good shift with grasse, herbs, and roots; barks of trees is good meat with them at all times. There is no people in the world, as I suppose, that liue so miserably as do the pouertie in those parts: and the most part of them that haue sufficient for themselues, and also to relieue others that need, are so vnmercifull that they care not how many they see die of famine or hunger in the streets.

Bread made of straw.

The unmercifulnesse of the Russes toward the poore.

It is a countrey full of diseases, diuers and euill, and the best remedy is for any of them, as they holde opinion, to go often vnto the hot houses, as in a maner euery man hath one of his owne, which he heateth commonly twise euery weeke, and all the housholde sweat, and wash themselues therein.

Stooues or baths usuall with the Muscouites.

The names of certaine sortes of drinkes vsed in Russia, and commonly drunke in the Emperours Court.

The first and principall meade is made of the iuyce or liccor taken from a berrie called in Russia, *Malieno*,[1] which is of a maruellous sweet taste, and of a carmosant couler, which berry I haue seene in Paris.

Reported by Thos. Bulley.

[1] *Malino*, Russ. for raspberry.

The second meade is called *Visnoua*,[1] because it is made of a berry so called, and is like a black gooseberry: but it is like in couler and taste to the red wine of France.

The third meade is called *Amarodina* or *Smorodina*,[2] short, of a small berry much like to the small rezon, and groweth in great plenty in Russia.

The fourth meade is called *Chereunikyna*,[3] which is made of the wilde blacke cherry.

The fift meade is made of hony and water, with other mixtures.

There is also a delicate drinke drawne from the root of the Byrch tree, called in the Russe toong *Berozeuites*,[4] which drinke the noble men and others vse in Aprill, May, and Iune, which are the three moneths of the spring time: for after those moneths, the sappe of the tree dryeth, and then they cannot haue it.

[1] *Vishny*, Russ. for cherries.
[2] *Smorodina*, Russ. for currants.
[3] *Cheriomka*, or bird cherry (*Cerasus Padus*).
[4] *Beriozovitsa*, a sweet drink made from the sap of the birch tree.

II.

The second voyage into Persia made by Thomas Alcocke, which was slayne there, and by Richard Cheinie, seruant to the worshipfull companie of Moscouie merchants in An. 1563. Written by the said Richard Cheinie.[1]

It may please your worships to vnderstand that, in the yeere 1563 I was appointed by Master *Anthonie Jenkinson* and Master *Thomas Glouer*, your Agent in Russia, to go for Persia in your worships affaires,[2] one *Thomas Alcocke* hauing the charge of the voyage committed to him, and I, one of your worships seruants, being ioined with him in your busines, hauing with vs, as they said, fifteene rubbles. And if it shall please you, I cannot tel certainely what summe of money we had then of the Emperours: for I receiued none, nor disbursed any of it in wares for the voyage. Also, God I take to record, I could not tell what stocke your worships had there, for the bookes were kept so priuilie, that a man could neuer see them. The 10. of May, anno. 1563. we departed from a towne called *Yeraslaue*, vpon our voyage towards Persia. The 24. of July we arriued at *Astracan;* and the second of August we departed from *Astracan;* and the 4. of the same moneth we came to the *Caspian* sea; and the 11. day of the said moneth we arriued at our port in *Media;* and the 12. of the said August we arriued at *Shammakie*, where as the king, *Obdolowcan*, lay in the field. We were well entertained of heathen people, for, the third day after our arriuall at *Shammakie*, wee were called before the king: wee gaue him a present, and hee entertained vs very well.

A rubble is a marke English.

At our comming to the Court we were commaunted to come before the king, who sate in his tent vpon the ground with his legs a crosse, and all his dukes round about his tent, the ground

[1] *Hakl.*, 1589, pp. 374-376.

[2] *Cf. ante*, p. 156.

being couered with carpets. Wee were commaunded to sit downe, the king appointing euery man his place to sit. And the king commaunded the Emperour of Russelands Marchants to rise vp, and to giue vs the vpper hande. The 20. of October *Thomas Alcocke* departed from *Shammakie* towards *Casbin*, leauing me at *Shammakie* to recouer such debts as the dukes of *Shammakie* ought for wares which they tooke of him at his going to *Casbin*. In the time I lay there, I could recouer but litle. And at *Thomas Alcocks* comming from *Casbin*, who arriued at a towne called *Leuuacta*,[1] wheras the king *Obdolocan* lay a day and a halfes iourney from the towne whereas I lay, I, hearing of his arriuing there, departed from *Sammakie*, finding him there in safetie with all such goods as hee had with him. During his abode there for seuen dayes, hee made suite to the king for such money as the dukes ought him. But the king was displeased, for that the Emperour of Russelands Marchant had slaine a Boser man at his going to *Casbin*. *Thomas Alcocke*, seeing the king would shewe vs no fauour, and also hearing from *Shammakie* that the Russes sent their goods to the sea side, for that they feared that the king of Persia should haue knowledge of the death of the Boserman, willed mee to depart to *Shammakie* with all such goods as he had brought with him from *Casbin*, I leauing him at the Court.

Casbin.

Leuuacta.

A Boserman is a Renegado.

The thirde day after mine arriuall at *Shammakie*, I had newes that *Thomas Alcocke* was slaine comming on his way towards me. Then the king, *Obdolocan*, vnderstanding of his deathe, demaunded whether he had euer a brother.[2] Some said I was, some saide I was not, his brother. When this fell out, your worships had no other seruant there but mee among those heathen people, who hauing such a summe of goods lying vnder my handes, and seeing how the Russes sent their goods with as much hast as they might to the sea side, and hauing but foure men to sende our wares to the sea side, I vsed such diligence, that within two dayes after *Thomas Alcocke* was slaine, I sent, in company with the

Thomas Alcocke slaine in the way betweene Leuuacta and Shammakie.

[1] Ievat; *cf. ante*, pp. 138, 149.

[2] Alcock's death is mentioned by the Venetian ambassador, Vincentio d'Allessandri, who refers to him as "an English gentleman named Mr. Thomas".—*Travels of Venetians*, p. 225.

Russes goods, all your worships goods, with a Mariner, *William Augustt*, and a Swethen, for that they might the safer arriue at the sea side, being safely layde in. All which goods afterwards arriued in Russeland in good condition, Master *Glouer* hauing the receipt of all things which I sent then out of those parties into Russeland. Concerning my selfe, I remained after I had sent the goods into Russeland sixe weekes in *Shammakie*, for the recouerie of such debts as were owing, and at last, with much trouble, recouered to the summe of fifteene hundreth robles, or there about, which Maister *Glouer* receiued of mee at my comming to *Mosco*, and all such goods as I brought with me out of *Keselbash*,[1] as by a note of my hande that hee hath shall appeare. Also hee hauing the receipt of all such goods as I sent into Russeland by these two aboue named, hee then had that voyage in venter of his owne better then an hundreth rubles, one *Richard Iohnson* twentie rubles, one *Thomas Pette* fiftie rubbles, one *Euan Chermisin*, a Tartar, seuentie rubbles. All these had their returne; Master *Glouer* allowed himselfe, God knoweth howe, I then being in Persia in your worships affaires.

Keselbash or Jeselbash.

And whereas he saith the Emperour had but for his part a dobble, as farre as I can see, knowing what the wares cost in those parties, hee had treble. If they gaue him so much wares, all charges turned to your worships, as well of the Emperours as of their owne returnes. I haue sowen the seede, and other men haue gathered the haruest; I haue trauailed both by land and by water, full many a time with a sorrowfull heart, as well as for the safegarde of their goods as yours, how to frame all things to the best, and they haue reaped the fruites of my trauaile. But euer my prayer was to God to deliuer mee out of those miseries which I suffered for your seruice among those heathen people. Therefore, knowing my duetie, which I haue done, as a true seruant ought to doe, I beseech your worships (although I haue but small recompence for my seruice), yet let me haue no wrong, and God will prosper you the better.

Also to informe your worships of your Persian voyage what I

[1] *I.e.*, Persia. The name of the people—Kizil bash or red heads, from the colour of their high-peaked hats—to denote the country.

iudge. It is a voyage to be followed. The king of *Gillan*,[1] where, as yet, you haue had no trafique, liueth al by marchandise; and it is neere *Casbin*, and not past six weekes trauaile from *Ormus*, whereas all the spices be brought: and here (I meane at *Gillan*)[2] a trade may bee established. But your worships must sende such men as are no riotous liuers nor drunkerds. For if such men goe, it will bee to your dishonour and great hinderance, as appeared by experience the yeere 1565. when as *Richard Iohnson* went to Persia, whose iourney had bene better stayed then set forward. For whereas before we had the name among those heathen people to be such marchants as they thought none like in al respects, his vicious liuing there hath made vs to be compted worse then the Russes. Gillan in Persia.

Againe, if such men trauaile in your affaires in such a voyage, you shall neuer knowe what gaine is to be gotten. For how can such men imploy themselues to seeke the trade that are inclined to such vices, or how can God prosper them in your affaires? But when a trade is established by wise and discreete men, then will it be for your worships to trafique there, and not before; for a voyage or market made euil at the first is the occasion that your worships shall neuer vnderstand what gaines is to be gotten thereby hereafter.

[1] Ghilan was for many centuries under its own kings, and the inhabitants, protected by their marshy and unhealthy country, preserved their liberties till, in the sixteenth century, the Sufi monarchs of Persia conquered them. But even as late as the reign of Shah Abbas the chiefs of Ghilan loved to style themselves shahs, sultans, etc., in spite of their subjection.—See an article by Chodzko in *Nouvelles Annales des Voyages*, 5me série, vols. xx and xxi (1849-50).

[2] Ghilan is marked as a town on the maps of Persia in the atlases of Mercator-Hondius (1606) and Blaeu (vol. x, 1664). No such town ever existed, but early travellers applied the name of the province (Ghilan, *i.e.*, the low land, as distinguished from Dailem, the high land) to its capital, Lahijan, just as Jenkinson and the cartographers who followed him applied the name of the province Khorasan to its chief town, Herat. Lahijan is described by Monteith as a "clean and beautiful little town", much higher, and therefore healthier, than Resht, the modern capital.—*Journal R. G. S.*, vol. iii, 1833.

III.

The thirde voyage into Persia, begun in the yeere 1565, by Richard Iohnson, Alexander Kitchin, and Arthur Edwards.

A letter of Arthur Edwards to Master Thomas Nicols, Secretarie to the worshipfull companie trading into Russia and other the North parts, concerning the preparation of their voyage into Persia.[1]

MASTER NICOLS, my bounden duetie remembred with desire of God for the preseruation of you and yours: you shall vnderstande that the second of March I was sent by Master *Thomas Glouer* (your Agent) vnto *Ieraslaue*, appointed to receiue such goods as should come from *Vologhda*, as also such kinde of wares as should be bought and sent from *Mosco* by your Agent and Master *Edward Clarke* thought meete for your voyage of Persia. And further, I was to prouide for biscuit, beere, beefe, and other victuals, and things otherwayes needefull according to aduise. Thus I remained here vntill the comming of your Agent, which was the 12. of May, who taried here three dayes, to see vs set forwards on our voyage, and then hee departed towardes *Colmogro*, hauing appointed (as chiefe for your voyage of Persia) *Richard Iohnson*. For my part I am willing, as also haue bene, and shall be content, to submit my selfe vnder him whome the Agent shall appoint, although hee were such a one as you shoulde thinke in some respects vnmeete. Thirtie two packes of carseis are all of that kinde of cloth that wee shall haue with vs. The other 18. packes that should haue gone were solde in *Mosco*. What other goods are shipped for our voyage you shall vnderstand by your Agents letters. Whereas *Edward Clarke* (being an honest man) was appointed Agent for Persia, as one of those parts more fit than any I doe knowe here, God hath taken him vnto his mercie, who departed this present life the 16.

Ieraslaue, a towne vpon the Riuer of Volga.

Richard Iohnson, chiefe of the third voyage into Persia.

[1] *Hakl.*, 1589, p. 376.

of March last past. I wished of God for my part he had liued; for my desire was in his companie to haue trauailed into Persia. Your barke or craer made here for the riuer of *Volga* and the *Caspian* sea is very litle, of the burthen of 30 tunnes at the most.[1] It is handsomly made, after the English fashion; but I thinke it to litle for your goods and prouision of victuals. If the worshipfull companie woulde sende hither a shipwright, being skilfull to make one of the burden of 60. tunnes or more, drawing but 6. foote water at the most when it is laden, I thinke it should bee profitable. For if your owne goods would not lade the same, here be Marchants that would bee glad and faine to giue great fraight to lade their goods with vs, whereby your charges would be much lessened: and so it may happen, the wages of your men hired here may be saued, and your seruants and goods in farre greater assurance; for their boates here are dangerous to saile with and to passe the *Caspian* sea.[2] There be carpenters here that will doe well ynough hauing one to instruct them.

A barke of 30. tunnes made at Ieraslaue, 1564, to passe the Caspian seas.

Your wares bought here, and orders taken for those that goe for your voyage of Persia, are yet vnknowen vnto me: wherefore I can not (as I would at this present) write to you thereof. Yet (as you doe knowe) it was the Gouernours minde I should be acquainted with greater affaires then these. Howbeit, I doubt not but I shalbe informed of them that are appointed, and al things shall be bought when they shall see time and haue more leasure.

Thus (in hast, as appeareth) I commit you and yours into the handes of Almightie God, who preserue you in perfect health with increase of worship.

From *Ieraslaue* the 15. of May 1565.

By yours to commaunde here or els where during life,

ARTHUR EDWARDS.

[1] Randolph says of this bark that it was 27 tons burden, and cost, when rigged and ready for sea, not above 100 marks. *Cf. ante*, p. 246.

[2] *Cf. ante*, p. 96, *note*.

IV.

An other letter of the said Master Arthur Edwards, written the 26. of April 1566. in Shamakie, in Media, to the right worshipfull Sir Thomas Lodge, knight and Alderman. And in his absence to Master Thomas Nicols, Secretarie to the right worshipfull companie trading into Russia, Persia, and other the North and East parts, touching the successe of Richard Iohnson in the thirde voyage into Persia.[1]

WORSHIPFULL Sir, my bounden duetie remembred, with heartie prayer vnto God for the preseruation of you and yours in perfect health with increase of worship. It may please you that my last letter I sent you was from *Astracan*, the 26 of Iuly 1565. From whence *Richard Iohnson*, myselfe, and *Alexander Kitchin* departed as the 30. of the same. And by meanes of contrary windes, it was the 23. of August before wee came to our desired porte, named *Nazanoe*.[2] There, after wee had gotten your goods on lande, with much labour and strength of men, as also windlesses deuised and made, wee haled your barke ouer a barre of beach or peeble stones into a small Riuer, sending your shippes apparell with other things to an house hired in a village thereby. And assoone as wee might get camels, being the fift of September, wee departed thence, and came to this towne of *Shamakie* the 11. of the same: and the 17. day following wee presented vnto *Abdollocan*, the King of this Countrey, one timber of sables, one tunne or nest of siluer cuppes parsill gilt, three morses teeth, 4. arshines of skarlet, three pieces of carseis, with 40. redde foxes.

They departed from Astracan the 30. of July 1565.

September.

Presents to the King. Obdolowcan.

He receiued our presents with giuing vs thankes for our good wills, demaunding if Master *Ienkinson* were in good health, and whether he would returne into these parts againe. Hee willed vs

[1] *Hakl.*, 1589, pp. 377-379.

[2] Nizovaya Pristan (*i.e.*, the lower port) Nizabad, *ante*, p. 221.

also himselfe to sit downe before him the distance of a quoits cast from his tent, where hee sate with diuers of his counsaile and nobilitie, sending vs from his table such meate as was before him. And after certaine talke had with vs, hee saide if hee might perceiue or knowe any maner of person to doe vs any wrong, hee woulde punish them in example of others, whereby wee should liue in quietnesse, and haue no cause to complaine, giuing vs a little house for the time, vntill a better might be prouided in such place as wee should thinke most meete, neuer willing vs to rise or depart vntill such time as wee of our selues thought it conuenient. At the taking of our leaue, he willed vs to put our whole mindes and requests in writing, that hee might further vnderstand our desires. But while we were about to doe so, God tooke this good king our friende out of this present life, the 2. of October past. The want of him hath bene the cause that as yet wee cannot receiue certaine debts. Howbeit, we doubt not but wee shall recouer all such summes of money as are owing vs for this voyage. As for *Thomas Alcocks* debts, they are past hope of recouerie, which had not bene lost if the king had liued. Wee trust, in the place of him, God will sende as friendly a king towardes vs, who by report (and as wee be credibly informed) shall be his sonne, named the *Mursay*,[1] who, since the death of his father, at our being with him, promised to shewe vs more friendship then euer we found. God graunt the same.

A house giuen our men in Shamakie by the King.

The death of Abdollocan the 2. of October 1565.

Mursay, the newe King of Media.

Great troubles haue chaunced in these parts. Of those which were of the olde kings counsaile, or bare any rule about him in these quarters, some are in prison, some are pinched by the purse, and others sent for vnto the *Shaugh*. These troubles haue partly bene the let that wares were not solde, as they might, to more profite. Your Agent, *Richard Iohnson*, bought foure horses, minding to haue sent to *Casbin*, *Alexander Kitchin*, whome God tooke to his mercie the 23. of October last; and before him departed *Richard Dauis*, one of your Mariners; whose soules I trust the Lord hath receiued to his mercie. We are now destitute of others to supply their roomes. Foure Mariners were fewe

The death of Alexander Kitchin, the 23. of October 1565.

[1] Mentioned by Jenkinson.—*Cf. ante*, p. 147.

ynough to saile your barke, whereof at this present we haue but one, whose name is *William Smith*, an honest yong man, and one that doeth good seruice here. For want and lacke of Mariners that should knowe their labours, wee all were like to bee cast away in a storme. For all the broad side of our barke laye in the water, and wee had much a doe to recouer it; but God of his mercie deliuered vs. Mariners here may doe you good seruice all the winter other wayes, and Marchants here will be the gladder to shippe their goods in vs, giuing good fraight. One Marchant at this present is content to pay twentie robles for twentie camels lading fraight to *Astracan*. Such barkes as must passe these seas may not drawe aboue fiue foote of water, because that in many places are very shallowe waters. Wee minde hereafter to make the Russian boates more strong, and they shall serue our turnes very well.

The Caspian Sea very shoald at diuers places.

And whereas some in times past tooke great paines, trauaile, and care, and could not haue their desire in the getting of the *Shaughes* letters or priuiledge, nowe, I trust (with Gods helpe), they may bee obtained, which, being had, will be beneficiall to the companie, and great quietnesse to those that shall remaine here, although heretofore thinges haue chaunced ill, as the like in other Countreis hath bene. But I doubt not, this priuiledge once gotten and obtained, wee shall liue in quietnesse and rest, and shall shortly growe into a great trade for silkes, both rawe and wrought, with all kinde of spices and drugs, and other commodities here, as to Master *Anthonie Ienkinson* is well knowen, who (I doubt not) hath long agoe throughly aduertised the Companie thereof.[1]

The murthering of Thomas Alcocks.

The trueth of the slaughter of *Thomas Alcocks*, your seruant, is not certainly knowen. Some thinke it was by the meanes of a noble man, with whome your saide seruant was earnest in demaunding of your debts, vpon whose wordes he was so offended that he procured his death. But other doe thinke verily that, in riding from the Court without companie, false knaues laye in waite, thinking hee had much about him, and so slewe him.[2] I doubt not,

[1] *Cf. ante*, p. 149.

[2] A third cause is assigned for the death of Alcock, although, apparently, without foundation.—*Cf. ante*, p. 216.

though this misfortune hath chaunced, that things shall come well to passe, and that we shall be better beloued when wee shall be more knowen.

Honest Marchants are glad of our being here, and seeke to growe in acquaintance with vs, being glad to further vs in that they may, and haue spoken in our fauours to the chiefest of this Countrey, one being a noble man, with whome your Agent and I are entred into friendship, who is at this time in great fauour with the *Shaugh*. Hee hath here, and in other places of these parts, set a good stay in things since the king's death; he is well knowen to Master *Ienkinson;* his name is *Cozamomet.*[1] Also another duke, named *Ameddinbecke,*[2] is our great friende, and his sister is the *Shaughe's* wife. These two haue promised your Agent, by their lawe, not onely to procure to get the *Shaughes* priuiledge, but also that I shall haue the debts paide mee of those that went from hence to *Casbin*, if we would send one with them. In consideration whereof, I was, vpon short warning (for want of a better), appointed by your Agent Master *Richard Iohnson*, all excuses layde apart, presently to put my selfe in readinesse, and to depart in company with these noblemen, with charge, when God should send me to *Casbin*, to vse my discretion, with their aduise, for the recouering of your debts and priuiledge. I shall haue with mee one interpretour and two bought seruants, one of which partly vnderstandeth this tongue, and may be put in trust, whatsoeuer should become of me. I haue receiued 6. *tumens* in readie money: 200. *shaughes* is a *tumen*,[3] reckoning euery *shaugh* for 6. pence Russe. I haue further receiued two timbers of sables, one to be solde, the other to bee giuen to *Thomas*, the *Shaugh* ;[4] and haue order further to giue, as I shall see good, to those that shall further my suite, and as occasion serueth. And for as much as I am commaunded to goe, I

Cozamomet, a noble man that fauoured our nation.

The value of a tumen.

[1] *Cozamomet*, probably Khodja Mahomet; Khoja being equivalent to "gentleman".

[2] *Ameddinbecke*, probably Ahmed-uddin-bek.

[3] *Tumen* or *tomaun*, containing 10 kerams or 200 shahis, worth £3 2*s*. 6*d*. at the beginning of the eighteenth century, now only 9*s*. 3½*d*.—*Statesman's Year Book.*

[4] *I.e.*, Shah Tahmasp.

shall willingly doe my best, putting my trust in God that hee will sende mee well to speede in this iourney.

For all kinde of wares bought or solde, you shall throughly be aduertised by your Agent, *Richard Iohnson*, whose reckonings or accompts at no hande I might see or be priuie vnto.[1] Your carseis were good and well sorted, they are and will be solde from 150. *shaughs* to 160. the piece. Two hundreth pieces were solde vnder, that needed not: one 100. pieces at 146. and 147. the piece, but more would haue bene giuen if circumspection had bene vsed. They were solde to those noblemen afore said, when as yet it was not knowen that I should haue gone with them. They may stande vs much in steade, as they haue promised vs their good wils in that they may doe. Here is at this time bought for England 11. packes of rawe silke, 25. and 26 batmans being in euery packe.

What a batman is.

The batman[2] being 7. li., which may be 6. li. and a halfe of English waight, being bought here for 66. to 70. *shaughes* the batman. It is fine and good: litle course at this time was to be had. And where course silke might be had, being at *Grousin*,[3] we could not send thither, for that time was neglected at the first. When wee shall haue lidgers[4] here to remaine in Sommer we may bye it at the first hand of the Countrey people that bring it to sel hither, and to other places. I would to God the companie coulde finde the meanes to haue a vent to make sales for the one halfe that wee may bye here. The Companie may haue for 30. or 40. thousande pounds yeerely. And as appeareth by your Agents wordes, being

[1] *Cf. ante*, p. 218.

[2] The batman is a weight in general use among the inhabitants of Azerbaijan. It varies in different parts of the country, and may consist of 6 (*cf. infra*, p. 410), 7, 10, and even 25 lb. (See Kazem-Beg, *op. cit.*, p. 114.)

[3] Grusia or Georgia; another instance of the name of the country being applied to its chief town. (See *ante*, p. 381, note 2.)

[4] *Lidger* or *leiger*, a resident or ambassador at a foreign court, also a person stationed to wait on the service of another. From Lat. *legatus*.

> "Now, gentlemen, imagine that young Cromwell's
> In Antwerp, *leiger* for the English merchants."
> (Lord Cromwell, *Suppl. to Shak.*, ii, 385; Nares' *Glossary*.)

at *Varas*,[1] hee and others sawe there so great abundance, that by report of diuers you may bestowe (if it were not for the Turkes) for a two hundred thousande pounds, besides silke of all colours died in graine, bounde vp in pound waights, I thinke 15. of our ounces to their pound waight, and here solde for 23. *shaughes*, at 6. *d.* the *shaugh*, may be 11. s. 6. pence. Varas, a great marte for silke.

From *Astracan*, in 7. or 8. dayes, wee may saile with our barke to a place named *Gilan*,[2] the which place in time to come (I thinke) shall serue our purpose best to goe vnto. Allam is there good cheape, being brought from thence hither to *Shamakie*, and solde here for 2. *bists* their batman, which may be 5. pence in our money: and so I haue bought to be sent home 223. batmans for example. And at *Gilan* there is rawe silke ynough for the companies stocke. I beleeue if any great store of wares be sent from you, that must be the place; and from thence a man may trauaile in 4. dayes to *Casbin*, and there make quicke and better sales, at which place your commodities are to be solde. For there be the chiefe and best marchants, and diuers other cities round about, to wit, *Teueris*, *Ardaoulle*, and *Cayshan*, being the heart of the Countrey, where there is more ciuilitie and marchants are better vsed. Concerning this point I haue inquired of diuers marchants, both Russes and others that haue bene in those parts, and found them all agreeing in one tale, and perceiue the same to be true, Gilan, 7. dayes sayling from Astracan. Alam. Gilan, 4 dayes iourney from Casbin.

[1] Arash. We have already a note on Arash (*ante*, p. 136). It may here be remarked, however, that the city referred to by Jenkinson and other Elizabethan travellers under the name of Arrash or Varas was known as Ganja or Genja in ancient times, and in the eleventh century was in the Armenian province of Artsakh (Arash). Ganja was a place of great importance, and was considered by Shah Abbas the key of the Persian position on the Caspian. It stood on the Ganja-chai, at an elevation of 1449 feet. About the beginning of the present century it was taken by the Russians, who named it Elizabethpol, after their empress, Elizabeth. But since the conquest of Erivan and the extension of the Russian frontier to the Araxes, it has lost much of its importance, and is rapidly falling into decay.—Monteith, *Notes on Georgia*, p. 14; *Le Tour du Monde*, 1869, p. 254; *Semeonof*, art. "Elizabethpol".

[2] *Cf. ante*, p. 381.

and that all kinde of wares come from thence into these parts. And from *Casbin* to *Ormus* is about 30. dayes trauailing with camels. I haue written the prices of wares in my letter to the gouernour, both for spices and some drugs, which I doe know.

From Casbin to Ormus a moneths trauaile with camels

Also you shall vnderstand here is plentie of yew for bowstaues.[1] I caused three horse loades to be bought vs for to knowe the trueth; but they were cut out of season this moneth of Aprill, the sappe being in them. Three moneths I neuer left speaking to the Countrey men to bring some. Your Agent will send some home for example.

This day, being the 26. of April, I departed towards *Casbin:* God giue mee a good houre and well to speede, with a meerie heart in returning againe, as my hope is I shall. I haue written my minde to *Master Glouer*, your Agent, what Russian wares I thinke best to be bought for this Countrey, and to sende some one hither that hath the Russe tongue, for we haue neede. And the companie shall doe well hereafter in taking of seruants to be sent hither, to see that they be such as haue discretion and be something broken in the world, and seene in the trade of Marchandise; and one (if they can get some such) as can speake the Portingall tongue may doe them as good seruice as those that shall be here two yeeres before him, for then we may bye a slaue that can speake this language and the Portingal tongue also, which shall then interprete vnto vs in all your secret doings, not making the *Russes* priuie, for they are sorie that we doe trade into these parts. For wee are better beloued then they are: because they are giuen to be drunkards, they are much hated of the people. It is to be wished that none should serue your worships in these parts that be giuen to that kinde of vice; and that your chiefe Agent and Factor[2] should be able to rule and gouerne himselfe, that no dishonestie should be imputed to him and vs. If he were honest he

The secret doings of the Moscouie Companie.

[1] The wood of the yew (*Taxus baccata*) was the best for bowstaves, which were in great demand for English archers, and by a law of Henry VIII, merchants were compelled to import good bowstaves in proportion to their cargo.—*Cf. Hamel*, p. 159; *Hakl.*, 1599, i, p. 300.

[2] Referring to Richard Johnson, companion of Jenkinson in the journey to Bokhara.—*Cf. ante*, p. 41.

might doe your worships good seruice, because of his Russian tongue.

Your London reds are not to be sent hither, for they will not giue aboue 18. *shaughes* their *arshine*. Here be reds of more orient colour, being *Venice* die. The people are giuen much to weare cloth: the common people specially were carseis, and the Marchants of more wealth weare broad cloth. You shall doe well to sende fiue or sixe broad clothes, some blackes, pukes, or other sadde colours that may be affoarded at 20. *shaughes* the *arshine* and not aboue. It is here reported that King *Philip* hath giuen the Turkes a great ouerthrowe at *Malta*, and taken 70. or 80. of his chiefe Captaines.[1]

Orient reds of Venice die.

Thus wishing I had more time to write, I pray you to beare with this my scribled letter, and after you haue red it that Master *Nicols*[2] may haue a sight thereof.

By your seruant to commaund,

ARTHUR EDWARDS.

Commodities to be caried out of England into Persia, with their prices there.

1. Carseis are solde there for 180. *shaughes*, so that a carsey is solde there in *Persia* for 4 li. 10. s. For euery *shaugh* is 6. *d.* English, and euery *bist* is 2. *d.* halfe penie English, and in *Russe* money 3. *d.*

A shaugh is 6d. English.

[1] The rumour has evidently reference to the defeat of Solyman's army before Malta in 1565. The heroic defence made by the Grand Master, La Vallette, and the Knights of St. John at Jerusalem is one of the most glorious events of the sixteenth century. Little credit, however, is due to Philip, King of Spain, for this victory, for he delayed sending reinforcements until the gallant defenders were reduced to a mere handful; and had it not been for the enormous losses of their besiegers, estimated at 25,000 of their picked soldiers, Malta must have fallen. The arrival of the long-promised reinforcements from Sicily raised the siege on the 8th September, and gave a final and crushing defeat to the already disheartened Turks.—Porter's *Hist. of the Knights of Malta*, pp. 427-78; Knolles, pp. 793-818.

[2] Nicols was secretary to the Russia Company.—*Cf. ante*, p. 384.

2. Tinne is solde in *Persia* for 14. and 18. *shaughes* the batman —the batman contayning as I haue mentioned before.[1]

3. Brasil is at 10. and 12. *shaughes* the batman.

4. Redde cloth, fine, at 25. and 30. *shaughes* the yard.

5. Copper at 20. and 25. *shaughes* the batman.

Commodities to be brought out of Persia for England.

1. Rawe silke at 60. *shaughes* the batman.

2. Peper[2] at 32. *shaughes* the batman.

3. Ginger at 18. and 20. *shaughes* the batman.

4. Nutmegs at 30. *shaughes* the batman.

5. Brimstone at 4. *shaughs* the great batman. The great batman is 12. li. English.

6. Allam at 2. *bists* and a halfe the batman, and less.

7. Rice at halfe a *bist* the batman.

8. Galles at halfe a *bist* the batman.

9. Cloues at 40 *shaughes* the batman.

10. Yew for bowe staues, at[3]

[1] 6½ lb. Eng.—*Cf. ante*, p. 388.

[2] Pepper was produced in Ghilan in Gmelin's time.—*Hist. des Découvertes*, ii, 348.

[3] Blank in *Hakluyt.*

V.

A letter of Master Arthur Edwards, written the 8. of August 1566. from the towne of Shamakie in Media, to the right worshipfull the Gouernours, Consuls, assistants, and generalitie of the companie of Russia, &c., Shewing his accesse vnto the Emperour of Persia, his conference with him, his obteining of a priuiledge : with diuers other good obseruations.[1]

RIGHT worshipfull (sirs), my bounden duetie remembred, with most humble commendations, and like request to God for the preseruation of your good healthes, with the rest of the companie, &c. It may please you to vnderstand that the last letter which I sent you from hence was of the 26. of Aprill of this present yeere, by *Richard Iohnson*, at my departure towards *Casbin*, to which Citie I came the 25. of May following, not slacking any day, houre, nor moment to procure and make friends for the speedie bringing me before the presence of the Shaugh, being the 29. day of the same moneth brought before him, with whose Maiestie I was in talke (as I thinke) two houres. He willed me twise to come neerer him, demaunding what were my requests ; and hauing heard them, he promised me his gratious letters. Afterwardes he called me twise againe to come neerer him, and talked with me of our Queenes Maiestie and Countrey, and what commodities we had, and what other commodities we desired. And then of other Countreis adioyning to vs, and their commodities ; as also of *King Philip*, what ouerthrow he gaue the Turkes at the siege of *Malta*,[2] and how long we had traded into Russeland and *Moscouia*, and in what space wee might saile out of England into Russeland, and how many weekes trauaile it is from *Colmogro* to

His arriuall at Casbin the 25. of May.

Conference and demands of the Shaugh.

[1] *Hakl.*, 1589, pp. 380-384.

[2] *Cf. ante*, p. 391.

Astracan,[1] and then came to discourse of Russeland, and what townes the Emperour had wonne, declaring vnto me himselfe most of our commodities. In the end he willed that your worships should send him of all sorts of clothes, but of one especially, which maydens doe make (as he said). He named it *Karengi*, I thinke it is Westerne dosens died into Scarlets. Time will not permit mee to write at large the conference which I had with his Maiestie. It was strange to his people (knowing our religion) to see mee so long in talke with him, willing his Secretarie before mee to write what he was desirous of, to wit, of London clothes, three or foure of all sorts for example, being wel shorne and drest. Violets in graine and fine reds be most worne, but other good colours will away when they shall see them. I wore a garment of London russet, being much esteemed. You shall doe well to send such sorts as be liuely to the sight, and some blackes for womens garments, with some orenge colours and tawneis. Here is much broad cloth worne. They talke much of London clothes, and they that knowe the wearing are desirous of them before the cloth of the womens making, for they finde it nothing durable, for when it commeth to weare on the threede it renteth like paper. Here is much *Venice* cloth worne, being cromplisted[2] a yard and a halfe broad, and solde here from 24. to 30. *shaughes* their arshine, being longer by two intches then the Russe arshine. I wish also that you send some good chamlets[3] and veluets died in graine, with purple colours and fine reds, because these are most worne. Also some blacks with other colours, some cloth of gold, tissue, and botky,[4] some veluets wrought with gold, with sattens and damaskes, most purple, and reds of all sorts. You may not forget to send some Western carseis, to wit, dosens, which bee thicked well, and

All sorts of cloth to be sent, specially Westerne dosens died into scarlet.

London clothes much talked of in Persia.

Much Venice cloth, worne in Persia.

[1] According to the table of distances given in *Hakluyt* (1589 ed., p. 386), it took forty-six days and nights to travel from Kholmogori to Astrakhan, *viâ* Vologhda and Yaroslavl, then down the Volga, a distance of 3,880 versts (2,586 miles).

[2] *Cromplisted.* Crumpled (?), *i.e.*, folded.

[3] *Chamlets*, *i.e.*, camlots, a mixture of silk and hair or wool and silk.

[4] *Botky*, *i.e.*, bodkin, corruption of O. Fr. *baudeguin*, cloth made of silk and gold thread.

close shutte in the weauing, being died into fine reds and some skarlets, for I thinke there is no such cloth for their cappes.

Your Worships shall vnderstand that, after my first departure from the presence of the Prince, I neglected no time in daily attendance on them who had my priuiledge in writing, that I might haue it in readines at such time as I should againe be called before the presence of the *Shaugh*, which was the 29. of Iune last. I was in apparell that he gaue vnto me, with other garments to mine Interpretour, and one of your seruants; and then I receaued your letter, or priuiledge, according to my desire, sealed and firmed with the *Shaughes* owne hand. Praised be God, who hath wrought with me, and for me, in all my doings.

The second admission to the Shaughes presence, the 29 of Iune 1566, at which time he receaued the priuiledge.

The 29. of Iune is one of their chiefe festiuall daies, so that all his Nobilitie was there present, with two Ambassadors in companie with his Maiestie, who said vnto me, that if my letters were not to my minde, in time to come they should be mended. Wherupon I made my reuerence, and gaue his Highnes most humble and hartie thankes, saying, that with as much speede as might be, our Queenes Maiestie should vnderstand of his goodnes towards her Marchants, which I thought would write their letters of request vnto his Highnes, in such forme and order as by them should be thought meete and requisite for their good assurance in the trade of marchandizes; who replied with these wordes: when we shall see their reasonable requests we will shewe them our farther good will. And so I departed.

The Shaughs promise to increase the priuiledge.

Since the receauing of the *Shaughes* letters I haue eaten in companie of good Dukes, and others, who before would not come neere me. And every day some would come to my shoppe and eate and drinke with me out of mine owne dishe. Likewise, in riding from *Casbin* hither on the way, when I sate downe to dinner they would come and eate with me vnbidden, when I wished them further off, for I spared them that which gladly I would haue eaten my selfe. I doubt not but we shall liue here from hence foorth in quietnes, for now in all places where I come I am friendly vsed with the best.

I was asked by the *Shaugh* if you were able to bring him yeerely one hundred thousand peeces of kersies and clothes, and I

answered him, saying your Worships were able to furnish his countrey with two hundred thousand. Whereat his Highnes reioyced, for the Turkes Ambassador the last yeere, as diuerse haue tolde me, did put the *Shaugh* in despaire, saying that the Turke would not permit any cloth to be brought into his Countrey.

Aleppo, a city of great trade.

There is a Citie in *Turkie* named *Aleppo*,[1] wherein continually are many Venetians dwelling, besides other that come yeerely, and there buy wools, gals, tallow, saffron, skinnes, cotton wooll, and other wares, and great store of spices. Also the Armenians yeerely receaue at the Venetians hands kersies in barter for rawe silkes, giuing sometimes 60. peeces of kersies for 70. batmans of silke of this countrey, and 40. peeces for *Grousine*[2] silke. And kersies solde commonly for ready monie in *Aleppo* at 11. and 12. duckets the peece (the ducket being here woorth 12. shillings), may cost the first peny 132. and 144. *shaughes* a kersie. By report it is one moneths trauell from this towne of *Shamakye* to *Aleppo*, and from thence to *Tripolis* sixe daies iourney, and from *Tripolis* to *Venice*, by water, a moneths or fiue weekes sailing. As I learne, from hence to *Venice* may easily be trauelled in lesse then three moneths. Therefore, I wish your Worships to procure some trustie and assured friend there, to whome, from hence, letters may be sent. For I can haue them here to put in suerties to deliuer my letters and to bring answere. If I had any other here with mee I woulde nothing haue doubted to haue brought you the *Shaughs* letters that way.

Armenians barter with the Venetians.

The distance from Shamaky to Aleppo.

Armenians and other desirous to barter silke and spices for kersies.

The Armenians and other are desirous to barter with vs, giuing silke for kersies, and also will serue vs of all kind of spices, we giuing them sufficient warning to fetch it in the *Indias*, and will deliuer it vs in *Shamakye* at these prices:

Pepper: this townes batman for 18. *shaughes;* every *shaugh* is sixe pence.

[1] Jenkinson was at Aleppo as early as 1553, and in the privileges granted to him by Sultan Solyman the Venetians are mentioned (*cf. ante*, p. 5); but d'Alessandri (1571) found the traffic through Aleppo had suffered much from war, and commerce took the route through Constantinople (*Venetians in Persia*, p. 225).

[2] *I.e.*, Georgian.

Maces, large, for 40. *shaughes*, and 45. the batman.

Cloues for 40. *shaughes* the batman.

Nutmegs for 16. and 18. *shaughes* the batman.

Sinoman [cinnamon] for 40. *shaughes* the batman.

I doubt not but there will be profite and good done in spices, with drugges and other like, in time.

From *Casbin* to *Ormus* is sixe weekes trauell, and from hence to *Casbin* is 16. daies with camels laden; but if one trauell with a good Mule vnladen, it may be gone in seuen or eight daies. And I thinke to *Ormus*, and other places, may be trauelled in like order and proportion with cattell vnladen. But here in all places as men trauell, they must carry their owne prouision on horses, which they are to buy; and thus they trauell but a foote pase.

The Shaugh desirous to bargaine for our commodities.

The *Shaugh* himselfe is desirous to bargaine with you, who will giue monie, silke, and other wares as we will, and take our wares as we may affoord them, willing me himselfe to bring such wares as we might gaine by him. The Armenians by report, and as I perceaue, bring from *Aleppo* yeerely foure, fiue, and sixe thousand peeces of kersies and clothes, besides those which other men bringe. If your Worships might procure and finde vent or sales for rawe silke, and silke died in graine, besides other silkes wrought and made here, by which profite may be made, then you might sende a great substance of wares hither. But I feare you shall be hindred by the Venetians, if they may; for I knowe it will grieue them, that you doe trade into these partes. For in short time it shall cleane alter their trade, and hinder the sales of their clothes in *Aleppo*, and other places adioyning. You shall vnderstand that 60. batmans of silke is a Mules lading; and as it is reported, one village of the Armenians yeerely carrieth 400. and 500. Mules lading of silke to *Aleppo*, and bringeth thence 800. or a thousand Mules laden with kersies and *Venice* clothes. And 18. peeces of kersies are a Mules lading. But I wish you not to sende aboue 2000. peeces of kersies, although I haue bene willed to write for more. If I might haue had any vnderstanding what your Worships had written for in your letters sent this yeere, I should in this my letter haue bene better able to haue answered you. They which be now in *Astracan* might haue

2000 peeces of kersies to be sent into Persia.

written some thing vnto me hither, if it had pleased them, or else haue sent me such letters of mine, as I hope some of my friendes haue written to me; for here are arriued 8. weekes past, two boates with wares and Russes, by whome they might haue written, had it bene but 3. or 4. lines. They promised the Russes to write, but promise was not kept. I would be sorie that any boate should depart out of these parts, and not write vnto them, saying how all things stande. I heare they haue bought a boate, which cost 40. robbles, and shipped certaine wares to come hither. God send them in safetie. I doe tary their comming, or els I had thought to haue come to *Astracan* in those boates which departed hence lately.

He departed from Casbin the 15. of Iuly.

The fifteenth of Iuly last I departed from *Casbin*, and came to this Towne the 29. of the same. And the fourth of August I founde meanes to arrest the falsest knaue in this Countrey, to wit, the Customer for 22. *tumens* and 100. *shaughes* (200. *shaughes* is a *tumen*). I haue caused him to put in suerties for his foorth comming at all times. What end I shall haue with him God knoweth. The debt wil be recouered, but not yet, for he must pay the *Shaugh* 1000. robbles. These parts as yet are in no stay, for lacke of a Gouernour or head to rule, which I thinke shall be the *Mursey*.[1]

Within 5. or 6. daies we shal know, for it is time, because men are in feare to trauell for being robbed. If there were a prince placed, I should soone get in your debts, for they dare not disobey the *Shaughes* letters or priuiledge: wherein he hath not onely written that our debts shal be paid, but also that we shall be taken heede to, so as we need not to doubt, God willing, in time to come, to be here as wel vsed as we are in Russeland. The

Richard Iohnsons great negligence.

bils of debts that *Richard Iohnson* left with me had neither the parties name nor summe of money in two of them, and in other bils but his owne name. If I had not vsed discretion, in causing to be written in our priuiledge, that such debts as are owing should be paide any of vs in the absence of the other, some men would not haue paid one penny, but onely to *Richard Iohnson*,

[1] *Cf. ante*, pp. 141, 147, 385.

who hath written but his owne name onely in the bils. I receaued in *Casbin* of *Forackan*, in part of 29. *tumens*, 300. *shaughes* in money; the rest he will deliuer me here in silke: and this is all that I haue receaued to this day. And as for *Hawrambecks* twelue tumens, I make accompt that if I could ride to speake with him, I should be paid in money and wares. Touching *Ackones* money, by means of Duke *Amedenbeck*,[1] who first owed the debt, because they meant not to pay a penny, he did rather seeke to hinder my sute then to farther mee; but I founde out a present remedie, for God sent me friendes that were alwaies about the *Shaugh* and daily put on his apparell, who opened all my sute and brought me to the presence of the *Shaugh* before that *Cosomomet*[2] sawe the *Shaughes* eies. But *Cosomomet* in the ende was my friende; for he was sent for, and declared vnto the *Shaugh* what good Marchants we were, vsing trueth in all our doings, and howe wee were in great fauour with the Emperour of Russia, and what good commodities we might bring into his Countrey, with other talke. And daily he was sent for to the *Shaugh* about the affaires in those partes; for no man was able to aduise the *Shaugh* of the State and affaires of those Countries so much as he was. He owed your Worships seuen tumens and 48. shaughes, which was not all this time to be gotten at his hands, for he was at great charges in riding to *Casbin*, and giuing great guifts since his comming, which he twice declared vnto mee. I, feeling his griefe, became Phisicion to ease his paine, and forgaue him his debt abouesaide in recompence of tenne peeces of kersies that were promised him by *Richard Iohnson* and mee, to giue him at the comming of our goods, in consideration that hee shoulde with speede doe what laye in him to dispatche mee away; for I perceaued he procured other that did helpe me in my sute to delay me of till time he had his purpose. I neuer was in quiet till I had the Princes priuiledge and had got me out of *Casbin*, for victuals and all other things are very deere there, because they are brought thither from far off. As for all other small debts (which may be about 7. *tumens*) when our Marchants are come hither we shal seeke to get them in as we may.

Cosomomet was Arthur Edwards friend to the Shaugh.

Victuals and al things deere at Casbin.

[1] *Cf. ante*, p. 387. [2] *Ibid.*

I wish your Worships to send some bollion to be coined here; it will please the prince there, and be profitable to you. Silke is better cheape by 2. and 3. *shaughes* the batman then it was the last yeere. You shal vnderstand that I haue written 2. letters of all my proceedings, which I sent from *Casbin* long since, to wit, the 24. and 29. of Iune last, by one of your seruants to *Gilan*, there to take ship and to goe to *Astracan*, and to deliuer the same vnto your factors, which might haue bene to their quietnes and mine long ago. But I am right sorie to heare since my comming hither that he hath plaied the loitering marchant in *Gilan*, not going in those boates that went first, but taried for the last boates. But I will teach him to the example of other how he shal make haste hereafter in such affaires. The kersies which you sent last, being bought of Master *Quarles*, were good and full lengths, and well sorted. The Princes Ambassador of *Gilan* was in *Casbin* at my being there. I hope in God if I remaine here and may go to *Gilan* to obtaine for your Worships the like priuiledge at the kings hand there also. For I haue something moued the matter, being put in such comfort that I doubt not the getting thereof with small charges, which I had done at this time if I had other here with me to put in trust; for from *Casbin* to *Gilan* is but 5. daies riding, which countrey may be profitable to your Worships. There is, in that Prouince, good store of silke, better cheape and better in goodnes then this Countrey silke is; also great store of Allam being there sold, this townes batman for one bist and a halfe. I haue made reckoning, al charges borne from hence to *Colmogro* & from thence fraight into England, at three pounds the tunne, all charges accompted, will not stand you in aboue 18. and 20. shillings the hundreth. You may haue yeerely by report two or three hundred tunnes lading. Other commodities there for England I heare not of. As for gals[1] here to be bought, there is no profit to be done by them. They be brought from *Aleppo*, and sold here vnder 3. or 4. *shaughs* their batman, being sixe pounds English weight. Graine that you dye scarlet withall is worth the batman, ready money, 200.

The ambassador of the prince of Gilan.

Gilan but fiue daies riding from Casbin.

Gals.

Graine.

[1] Gall-nuts used in dyeing, and for making writing ink; also valuable for the acid extracted from them.

shaughes; reckoning the *shaugh* for 6. pence *Russe*, it may be 6. robbles their batman. Your Worships may send some portion of money, if you may buy, as I thinke you may, for 12. and 13. shillings a pound, the berries, so you shall gaine both in the price and waight. If one Englishman more had bene here with me, to whom I might haue deliuered our bils of debts and other things whatsoeuer should haue chaunced of me, I would then haue become seruant to my Interpreter, and so haue gone to *Ormus* and *Aleppo*, which both ioyne on the borders of this countrey, being the chiefe mart Townes whereunto from all places Marchants resort. And thus would I haue spent 4. or 5. moneths in trauelling for farther knowledge of things for to haue certified your Worship[s] of.

Ormus.

Aleppo.

I hope in God to vse things in such order that yeerely you shall haue returne of your goods from hence, as you haue foorth of *Russeland*, and in those shippes. For if we may, as I doubt not with diligence, prouide to make sales in time and with speede receaue silke at the *Shaughes* hand and other mens, that it may be sent from hence to be in *Astracan* at the beginning of Aprill, from whence it may be sent to *Colmogro* in three moneths and lesse, and there to be ready with the rest of your goods by the ende of Iune for your shippes to receaue; that will be time inough. This I doubt not to bring to passe within a yeere or two, when we are throughly settled in these parts and better knowen.

Moreouer, you shall vnderstand that at my last being in the presence of the *Shaugh*, it was said to me that Master *Anthonie Ienkinson* did proffer to take all the rawe silke in those parties, deliuering cloth and other commodities for the same. I assure you there is in those parts to be had three or fowre thousand horses lading, every horse loade being 50 or 60 batmans, beside silke of *Grosine*. Great aboundance of silke at times is sent out of these parts, to wit, 4. or 5. hundred horse loades at a time, by the Turkes, who bring great store of siluer to be coyned, to wit, Dollars at ten *shaughes* the peece. The *Hungarie* Ducket is at 12. *shaughs*. And hauing monie in readines at the time of the yeere, they buy silke the better cheape, when the countrey men bring it first to be solde. If your worships may bargaine with the *Vene-*

Master Anthony Ienkinsons offer to the Persian.

tians to take silke at your hands or otherwise deale with them, I do not mistrust but to haue at y^e^ *Shaughs* hand sixe batmans of silke for two peeces and a halfe of kersies. Your good aduice herein, and in other matters, I trust you will write with conuenient speede.

Master Anthony Ienkinson commended.

Master *Anthony Ienkinson* hath deserued great commendation at all your worships hands; for the good report of his well and wise doings in those parts was oftentimes a comfort to me to heare thereof, and some good helpe to me in my proceedings. To this day I never heard from any of our marchants. God grant me in health to see your worships, for I haue had a carefull trauell, with many a sorrowful day and vnquiet sleepes. Neither had I the companie of one English person to whome sometimes I might haue eased my pensiue heart, as God well knoweth, who hath deliuered me from mine enemies. Thus Almighty God grant you in health and wealth long to liue.

Your humble seruant at commandement during life,

ARTHUR EDWARDS.

VI.

Another letter of Arthur Edwards, written in Astracan, the 16 of June 1567, at his returne in his first voyage out of Persia, to the right worshipfull companie trading into Russia, Persia, and other the North and North-east partes.[1]

The Shaughs letters to the Moscouie Company.

It may please your Worships that herein I haue written not onely certaine articles of your priuiledge, but also the Gouernours names, with the Consuls, Assistants and generallitie, also such commodities as the Prince or Emperour of the Countrey hath written in one of his letters directed to your Worships, to be sent him with other notes, which I thought good to be remembred, as may appeare hereafter following. Your priuiledge is written, granted, and giuen in the names of these sixe persons following, to wit: Sir *William Garrard*, Sir *William Chester*, gouernours; Sir *Thomas Lodge*, Master *Anthony Ienkinson*, Master *Thomas Nichols*, and *Arthur Edwards*.

1. It is granted that you shall pay no manner of Customes or tolles any kind of wayes now, nor in time comming vnto his heires after him; and that all English marchants, such as you shall appoint nowe and hereafter, shall and may passe and repasse into all places of his dominions and other Countreyes adioyning in the trade of marchandise, to buy and sell all manner of commodities, with all manner of persons.

2. Item, that in all places where any of our Marchants shall haue their resort or abiding, his chiefe Gouernours, Rulers, and Iustices shall take heede vnto vs, being our aide and defence against all euill persons, punishing those that shall doe vs any wrong.

3. Item, that for all such debts as shall be owing by any manner of person, iustice shall be done on the partie, and we paid at the day.

[1] *Hakl.*, 1589, pp. 384, 385.

4. Item, that no manner of person, of whatsoeuer estate or degree they be of, shall be so hardie as to take any kind of wares, or any guifts, without any leaue and good will.

5. Item, if by chance medley any of our Marchants or seruants, as God forbid, should kill any of his subiects, that no part of your goods shall be touched or medled withall, neither any partie but the offendour, and true iustice to be ministred; and being any of vs, not to suffer without the Princes knowledge and aduise.

6. Item, that all such debts as are nowe owing, or hereafter shall be, are to be paide vnto any of vs, in the absence of the other, be the partie dead or aliue.

7. Item, that no person returne any kinde of wares backe againe being once bought or solde.

8. Item, that when God shall send your goods to shoare, presently his people shall helpe vs a land with them.

These articles before written,[1] I trust in God will content your mindes vntill farther letters be hitherto written vnto the Prince, who, I am assured, will grant your farther reasonable requests, which his Maiestie hath promised. For I moued the question, declaring vnto him that I thought your worships would write your letters of requests to craue his farther good will as should be thought meete for your better assurance in the trade of marchandize. You will hardly beleeue what long and gratious talke he had with me, which I assure you continued two houres, which was strange vnto the people and other Marchant strangers. For betwixt every question that his Maiestie moued, when I had answered him he would talke with his Nobles, and other his seruants hauing some knowledge of our Westerne partes and commodities, and then againe would demand other questions. He caused his Secretarie to write the articles before named in al of his foure letters giuen me (whereof two, as I required, are in the Turkish tongue, to be sent you). On the backe side of one he hath written what wares his Maiestie would haue you to sende him. He helde me one houre within night before I departed from him.

[1] Eden ascribes the foregoing privileges to Jenkinson, and says that he sent them from Mosco to the company of merchants. – *Cf. Hist. of Trauaile* (Lond., 1577), p. 332; *ante*, p. 155.

THESE BE THE NAMES OF THE WARE OR COMMODITIES WHICH, ON THE BACKE SIDE OF ONE OF HIS LETTERS, THE SHAUGH HATH WRITTEN TO YOU TO BE SENT HIM.

First, some clothe of golde, with cloth of tyssue and cloth of bocky[1] as Veluets wrought with golde.

Item, good veluets, to wit, cramosins, purples, reds, greenes, and blackes. These colours his Maiestie requireth, for they are most worne. And though there be some of these wares made in his Citie of *Casbin*, yet nothing like in goodnes to those that you may procure for him. Small profite, I thinke, will be in these wares; yet for diuers considerations, as also to satisfie the Princes minde, I wish you to send some, and those that be especiall good.

Item, good damasks and satins of all sortes, with an hundred peeces of good chamlets[2], which are worth here 80. *shaughes* the peece, at sixe pence the *shaugh*, and those silkes to be of those colours aboue written, to wit, cremosins, purples, reds, greenes, blackes, with some light watchet colours.

Item, three or foure complete harnesses that will abide the shot of a handgunne, with tenne or twelue targets of steele, being good.

Item, ten or twelue good shirts of male, being very good, or else none, that may abide the shot of an arrowe, and two buffe ierkins.

Item, ten or twelue peeces of Westerne Kersies, being thickers well and close shut in the weauing, and died into scarlets and fine reds. I thinke there will be no such cloth for Noblemens caps. The Prince named them *Karangies*, saying that maidens did make them, and is desirous of them.

By the word Karangies, I thinke they meane Karsies.

Item, sixe peeces of fine Holland cloth for the Prince, with some other for Noblemen, of a lower price.

Item, twenty handguns, being good, some of them with sixe lockes, and also sixe good dags[3] with lockes to trauell withall.

[1] *I.e.*, bodkin.—*Cf. ante*, p. 394.
[2] *I.e.*, camlots.—*Cf. ante*, p. 394.
[3] A sort of pistol.

Item, 100. brushes for garments (none made of swines hair), for guifts, and otherwise to be solde.

Item, sixe stone bowes[1] that shoote lead pellets.

Item, a mill to grinde corne in the field as they goe, finely deuised; for *Cozomomet*[2] willed me to write for one to be sent, to giue the Prince.

Item, the Prince requireth of all sortes and colours of London clothes. I wish you to send no lesse then 40. or 50., for I knowe they will be solde to profite, especially such cloth as may be affoorded for 20. *shaughes* the arshine, which is longer by two of nine ynches then Russia arshine is. Let there be fine scarlets, violets in graine, fine reds, blackes, browne blewes, foure or fiue of euery sort for the Prince and other Lordes; the rest of other colours liuely to the sight, as London russets, tawnies, Lion colours, good liuely greenes, with other as you shall thinke good. For the Prince desireth to see of all sortes, which will be an occasion that the Venetians and Turkes shall be in lesse estimation then they are, for they themselues doe feare and secretly say the same. And truely the Princes subiects intend to enter into trade with vs for spices and other commodities that they were woont to sell vnto the Venetians and Turkes.

Thus I committe you all to God, who send you health with increase of Worship. Written at *Astracan* the 16. of June 1567,

By your seruant during life to command,

ARTHUR EDWARDS.

[1] Stone bowes, *i.e.*, cross-bows for shooting stones, etc.—*Cf.* Shakespeare: "O for a stone-bow, to hit him in the eye".—*Twelfth Night*, act 5, sc. 2.

[2] *Cf. ante*, p. 387.

VII.

The fourth voyage into Persia made by M. Arthur Edwards, agent, John Sparke, Laurence Chapman, Christopher Faucet, and Richard Pingle, in the yeere 1568; declared in this letter written from Casbin, in Persia, by the foresayd Laurence Chapman to a worshipfull merchant of the companie of Russia, in London.

Anno Domini 1569. Aprill 28.[1]

WORSHIPFULL Sir, my dutie alwayes remembred, and your prosperous health and good successe in all your affayres wished, to the glory of God and your owne hearts, &c. May it please you to vnderstand that your Agent, Master *Arthur Edwards*, & we departed from *Yeraslaue* in July 1568, & the 14 of August arriued at our port called *Bilbil*[2] with your ship, *The Grace of God*, & the goods in her in good safetie, God be thanked for it, finding there neither y^e^ people so ready to ayd vs for the bringing of her in & vnlading of the goods, nor yet so obedient to the *Shaughs* priuilege,[3] as the worshipfull companie haue beene informed. Our goods brought vpon land, we were compelled to open and sell as they would set the price, or otherwise it would haue bene worse for vs. Being so satisfied to theyr contentment, we were speedily ayded with camels by the prince *Erasbecke Sultan*[4], his appoyntment to carry our goods

Their arriual at Bilbill the 14. of August 1568.

Prince Erasbecke.

[1] *Hakl.*, 1589, pp. 413-16.

[2] Bilbill, at the mouth of a small river discharging into the Caspian, near Shabran, in N. Lat. 41° 20′.—*Cf.* Fr. map.

[3] *Cf. ante*, p. 404.

[4] This "prince" is probably identical with Ares Khan, Khan of Shirvan, who fought courageously against Osman Pasha and the Turks in 1578-9, though the title of Sultan given him in the text shows that he held at this time an inferior grade, viz., that of commander of a legion, the title of Khan being given in Persia to governors of provinces.—*Cf. infra*, p. 426; *Nouv. Journal Asiatique*, 2 ser., vol. xii, 1833, p. 373; Sir Thos. Herbert's *Travels*, p. 121.

to *Shamakie*, to which place we attayned the first of September, finding it so thoroughly furnished with all maner of commodities, by occasion of our late comming, and by such as came before vs, that no man would aske to buy any one piece of karsie of vs. And lying then the space of one whole moneth before your Agent, *Arthur Edwards*, would disperse vs abroad with the goods, such as came out of *Russia* afterwardes had brought theyr goods to that and other places and spoyled those sales we might haue made, being sent abroad in time conuenient, being no little hinderance to the worshipfull, as also great griefe vnto vs to see. To conclude, through our dayly calling vpon him, he bent himselfe for *Casbin*, taking with him the greatest summe of the goodes and two of the worshipfuls seruants, to witte, *Iohn Sparke*[1] and my selfe, to helpe and procure the better sale for the same; and leauing at *Shamakie*, *Christopher Faucet* and *Richard Pingle*, with three hundred and fiftie pieces of karsies in theyr hands, supposed to be solde there or in *Arrash* before he should be able to make his returne from *Casbin*, which so farre forth as I can vnderstand lie for the greatest part vnsolde. And being vpon our way at a certayne towne called *Ardowill*, we chanced to barter nine pieces of karsies with those merchants for fourescore and foure batemans of cynnamon, selling the karsies at one hundred and fiftie *shaughs* the piece.

Christopher Faucet and Richard Pingle.

And being at that present not farre from *Teueris* [Tabriz],[2] called the principall place in this countrey for vttering of cloth or karsies, by much intreaty I persuaded your Agent to send thither to proue what might be done; and receiuing from him foure and fiftie pieces of karsies, as also his commission for sale of the same, I proceeded on that voyage my selfe and one Tolmach in company with me, finding in that place great store of broade cloth and

[1] Companion of Southam in the voyage to Novgorod, *ante*, pp. 190, 266, 340.

[2] Tabriz was the principal seat of commerce in Persia, and supplied nearly all the northern and midland countries with the produce and manufactures of Europe, conveyed to it chiefly from the Black Sea.—*Cf. Schiltberger's Travels* (Hakl. Soc.), p. 44, and note, *ibid.*, p. 155.

karsies brought thither, some part by the Turkes, who be resident there, some by the Armenians, who fetch them at *Aleppo*, and some by the townesmen, who trauell vnto *Venice*, and there buy them, so that no man offred me one penie more then a hundred and forty *shawghs* for a karsie; and hauing speciall commission and charge from your Agent not to stay there aboue the space of seuen days after my arriuall there, but to repayre to *Casbin* with all speed, and furthermore hauing regard to keepe vp the price of the worshipfuls commodities according to theyr desire, I found meanes to barter them away for spices, such as were there to be had, neither in goodnesse nor yet in price to my content; nevertheless, considering the colde sales which were there, as well for your karsies, as also the hot newes that *Ormuz* way was shut vp by occasion that the Indians do warre against them,[1] which is true in deed, and, againe, the desire that the worshipfull hath to haue such commodities bought, I thought it necessarie to buy them, the prices and weight whereof appeareth at large by my account sent to the worshipfull, and is, as I thinke, the whole summe of spices bought at this time.

War against the Portingals at Ormus.

It chanced me in that place to meet with the gouernours merchant of *Grozyne*,[2] who was not a little desirous to bargen with me for a hundred pieces of karsies for his master, called *Leuontie*, and offering me so good bands [bonds] for the payment of the money, or silke, to the merchants contentment, vpon the deliuery of them, as in any place within all this countrey is to be had; and offering me besides his owne letter in the behalfe of his maister, that no custome should be demanded for the same, and the obtaining also at his maisters hand as large a priuilege for the worshipfull to trauell into all parts of his dominion, as the *Shaugh* had giuen them. And hearing good report made of him by the Armenians, also, and that he was a Christian, I was much more the willing to bargen with him, and solde him a hundred pieces for a hundred and three score *shawghs* a piece, to be payd

The gouernor of Grozine, his merchant.

[1] Thomas Bannister, writing to Cecil in 1571, mentions that the Portuguese had great wars for three years past with the Queen of Malabar, and other Princes of India.—*Cal. S. P.*, E. Ind., 1571, p. 9.

[2] Grusia, or Georgia.

to the merchant in *Grosine*, either in money or silke to his contentment, within three dayes after the deliuerie of the karsies there, hauing a band [bond] of him made by the Metropolitanes owne hand for the performance of the same, which is as sure as any heere is to be deuised; and vpon the same I sent my Tolmach from me backe to *Shamakie* with such goodes as I bought at *Teueris*, and to the end he might cause the worshipfuls seruants there to see this bargen accomplished. At whose arriuall there, as I do perceiue, the captaine would not accomplish his bargen to take them, but sayth he hath no need of them. Such is the constancie of all men in this countrey, with whomsoeuer you shall bargen. If the ware be bought and they doe mislike it afterwardes, they will bring it againe and compell you to deliuer the money for it againe, regarding the *Shâwghs* letters, which manifesteth the contrary, as a straw in the winde; by meanes whereof the worshipfull may know whether all be true that hath beene written of this countrey people or not.

The generall inconstancy in the merchants and dealers of those parts.

I am informed by all the brokers in *Teueris* that the way once open to *Ormuz*, from whence commeth no such store of spices as the worshipfull dothe looke for, that heere will be put away in *Teueris*, some for money and other some for barter, to the number of three hundred or foure hundred pieces of karsies, being in coulers and goodnesse to the examples here sent you, the rest of the karsies to make them vp a thousand, and broad clothes to the summe of a hundred, be as many as will be put away yeerely in this countrey, so farre as yet I can perceiue.

To breake the trade betwixt the Venetians and the whole company of the Armenians it is not possible, vnless the worshipfull will finde some meanes to receiue them yeerely to the number of 100 carters or mules lading, and deliuer them for the same one third part money, the rest, cloth and karsies fitted in coulers meet for this countrey; the examples as abouesaid are sent vnto you.

At *Amadia*,[1] sixe dayes iourney from *Teueris*, grow abundance

[1] Amadia is mentioned by Macdonald Kinneir as a strong town three marches north of Mosul, and the centre of a Pashalik comprising thirty-one well peopled districts. On his map, Amadia is placed near the headwaters of a left tributary of the Tigris, in N.

of galles, which are brought vp yeerely by the Venetians, and be solde there for two *bishes* the *Teueris* bateman, which, as your Agent here sayth, maketh sixe pound English weight[1]; but I doubt it will not so be prooued. Neuerthelesse, it is supposed much good will be done by buying of them, which might at this present haue partlie beene prooued if so be that some could doe but halfe that which hath beene written.

Touching drugges, I finde many, as well at *Teueris* as also in *Casbin*, but the goodnesse nothing like to such as be brought into England out of other places, and the price is so high, that small gaine will be had in buying of them; albeit, if I had beene furnished with money, as I might haue beene if some would, I would haue bought some, to the end the goodnesse of them might haue beene seene in England. At my comming to *Casbin*, I found no maner of sales of any commoditie made, but all lying there whole, and newes giuen out (as your Agent saith) that the *Shaugh* would buy all such commodities as he had, and giue him silke & spices for the same; but by report the *Shaugh* neuer tooke cloth into his treasurie all the dayes of his life, and will not now beginne; his whole trade is in raw silke, which he selleth alwayes for money to the Armenians and Turkes, and such other as vse to buy it; thus hoping of that which is not like to be had, he hath driuen off the time, not sending to any other places; by meanes whereof the worshipfuls goodes be vnsolde to this day, to theyr great hinderance, which I for my part am not a little sorrie to see.

Babylon[2] is from hence fifteene dayes iourney, whereas by true report be great store of dates,[3] and solde for a *bisse* the bateman;

Lat. 37° 25′ and E. Long. 43°, about 220 miles distant from Tabriz, as measured with the compasses; but its true position is unknown.—*Cf. Journey through Asia Minor, Armenia, etc.*, p. 456; *Journal R. G. S.*, vol. viii, p. 77; Monteith's map of Armenia.

[1] *Cf. ante*, p. 388, *note*.

[2] *I.e.*, the ruins of Babylon. Bagdad, on the opposite bank of the Tigris, is the place of trade referred to.—*Cf.* Sir A. Sherley's travels, in *Purchas*, vol. ii, p. 1387.

[3] Babylon dates are a well-known article of commerce, and a forest of palm and date trees outside and within the city adds greatly to the picturesque appearance of Bagdad.

the commoditie fit for England, and the place so neere vnto vs might easily haue beene knowne if he, whose deeds and sayings differ much, had beene willing to the same. *Cashan*, also, is but seuen[1] dayes iourney from hence, and a place by report where most store of spices be at all times to be had, ouer and aboue any place in this countrey. It could not be granted by him to be seene and proued at this time; if this be losse to the worshipfull, referre it to the want of one which can do that which he speaketh in words.

To trauell in this countrey is not onely miserable and vncomfortable, for lacke of townes and villages to harbour in when night commeth, and to refresh men with wholesome victualles in time of need, but also such scarsitie of water, that sometime in three dayes iourney together is not to be found any droppe fit for man or beast to drinke, besides the great danger we stand in for robbing by these infidels, who do account it remission of sinnes to wash theyr hands in the bloud of one of vs. Better it is, therefore, in mine opinion, to continue a begger in England during life then to remaine a rich merchant seuen yeeres in this countrey, as some shall well finde at theyr comming hither.

His voyage to Gillan.

By commandement of the Agent, also, I went to *Gillan*, as well to see what harbor[2] was there for your shippe as also to vnderstand what commoditie is there best solde, and for what quantitie. I found the way from hence so dangerous and troublesome, that with my penne I am not able to note it vnto you. No man trauelleth from hence thither but such poore people as need constraineth to buy Rice for theyr reliefe to liue vpon, and they lay not aboue twentie batemans vpon a catter,[3] and it lyeth no lower

[1] Cashan (Kashan) would be seven days' journey from Tabriz if the traveller could travel some seventy odd miles *per diem*, but from twenty to twenty-five days' at twenty miles a day.

[2] The road from Kazvin into Ghilan crosses the Elbruz mountains, and follows the course of the Rudbar and Sefid-rud to Resht. Enzelli, the port of Resht, is, perhaps, the best harbour of Ghilan, but the entrance is shallow, not more than five feet, and with a wind from the north, the sea rises in a dangerous way so that boats are prevented going out.

[3] *I.e.*, mule.—*Cf.* p. 410.

then the skirts of the saddle : and he escapeth very hardly that commeth there with the same.

The towne of *Layghone*,[1] which was the chiefest place in all that land, haue I seene, and *Langroe*[2] and *Rosare*,[3] also, which be now latelie ouerrunne by the *Shawgh* and his power, and be so spoyled, and the people so robbed, that not one of them is able to buy one karsie. The best commoditie there to be bought is rawe silke, and is solde in the Summer time for eight and thirtie *shawghs* the *Layghone* bateman, which is little aboue fortie pound weight, and for readie money ; also there is to be had what store of Allome you will, and solde there for one *bisse* the *Teueris* bateman.

The malice of the Turkish merchants.

In these partes be many Turkie merchants resident, which giue an outward shew as though they were glad of our comming hither, but secretlie they be our mortall enemies, searching by all meanes to hinder our sales, because we should the sooner giue ouer our trade thither, which in processe of time will, I hope, grow to better perfection. They wish vs to go to *Hallape*[4] with the rest of our commodities vnsolde, where, they say, we shall haue good intertainment (in spight of the great number of Venetians which be there resident), and the custome but two in the hundred, and our karsies to be solde presently, had we neuer so many, for twelue duckets, which makes of this money one hundred sixe and fiftie *shawghs ;* but by such as know the place, market, & custome, it is reported to vs credibly to the contrary, and that such karsies as ours be are not solde for aboue eight duckets there ; the custome thirtie in the hundred & more ; that no place in the world is so furnished with good cloth and karsies, & of so braue

[1] *Layghone* (Lahijan).—*Cf. ante*, p. 381.

[2] *Langroe* (Langerud). Langerud is situate in low, swampy ground, and at the time of Gmelin's visit, was in a ruined state ; nothing but a few reed hovels were to be seen, and a half-ruined bridge and a mosque. It was near here that the remains of the ship built by John Elton for Nadir Shah were to be seen.—Holmes' *Sketches on the Shores of the Caspian*, p. 129 ; *Hist. des Découvertes*, tom. ii, p. 381.

[3] *Rosare* (Rudissar), on the coast of Ghilan, a little more than eight miles from Langerud, near Mazanderan, and in an equally dilapidated condition.—*Holmes*, p. 133.

[4] Aleppo.—*Cf.* pp. 89, 98, 143.

couler as that place is: supposing it to be craftily purposed of them to bring vs into trouble, which God defend vs from.

The price of spices.

The prices of spices be these, at this present inhansed by reason the way is shut to *Ormuz*,[1] which when God shall send open, I purpose (God willing) to see, and at my returne to aduertise the worshipfull what benefit is there to be had in all points, so neere as I can learne: Pepper 25 *shawghs* the *Teueris* bateman; Cloves, 50 *shawghs*; Long pepper, 25 *shawghs*; Maces, large, 50 *shawghs*; Ginger, 24 *shawghs*; ready money all, or els looke not upon them. And the best sort of raw silke is solde for 60 *shawghs* the *Teueris* bateman. Thus, for want of further matter to inlarge, I end for this time, beseeching God to preserue you in continuall health.

By your obedient seruant,

LAURENCE CHAPMAN.

[1] *Cf. ante*, p. 409.

VIII.

Notes concerning this fourth voyage into Persia,

begunne in the monthe of Iulie 1568, gathered by Master Richard Willes from the mouth of Master Arthur Edwards, which was Agent in the same.[1]

When he came first to the Sophies presence at his court in Casbin, bringing his interpretour with him, and standing far off, the Sophie (sitting in a seat royall with a great number of his noble men about him) had him come neere, and that thrise, vntill he came so neere him that he might have touched him with his hand. Then the first demand that he asked him was from what country he came. He answered that he came from England. Then asked he of his noble men who knew any such countrey. But when *Edwards* saw that none of them had any intelligence of that name, he named it *Inghilterra*, as the Italians call England. Then one of the noble men said *Londro*, meaning thereby London, which name is better knowen in farre countries out of Christendome then is the name of England. When *Edwards* heard him name *Londro*, he said that that was the name of the chiefe citie of England, as was *Teueris* of the chiefe citie of *Persia*. He asked him many thinges more, as of the realme of England, maruelling that it should be an Island of so great riches and power, as *Edwards* declared vnto him of the riches and abundance of our merchandize, as he further vnderstoode by our traffike in *Moscouia* and other cuntries. He demanded also many things of the Queenes Maiestie, and of the customes and lawes of the realme, saying oftentimes in his owne language *Bara colla*[2] (that is to say) Well said. He asked also many things of King *Philip*,

Londro
London.

[1] *Hakl.*, 1589, pp. 416, 417.—*Cf.* Eden's *History of Travayle*, augmented by Willis (1577), pp. 333-4.

[2] *I.e.*, *Barak Allah*, an exclamation like "God bless (you)", but signifying approval or "well done".

and of his wars against the Turke at *Malta*. Then he demanded of him what was the chiefe cause of his resort into his realme. And being certified that it was for the trade of merchandize, he asked what kinde of merchandize he could bring thither. Such (said he) as the Venetian merchants do, which, dwelling in our country in the citie of *Londro*, send to *Venice*, and from thence into Turkie by *Halepo* and *Tripoli*, in *Syria*, from whence, as by the second and third hands, with great charges of many customes and thinges thereunto perteining, they are at length brought into your countrey and cities of *Persia*. What merchandize are those, sayd the *Sophie*. *Edwards* answered that they were great abundance of fine karsies, of broad clothes, of all sorts and coulers, as scarlets, violets, and other of the finest cloth of all the world. Also that the Venetians brought out of England not onely such clothes ready made, but, furthermore, great plentie of fine wooll to mingle with theyr wools, of which they could not otherwise make fine cloth; affirming that there went out of England yeerly that wayes aboue two hundred thousand karsies and as many broad clothes, beside fine wooll and other merchandize, beside also the great abundance of like clothes, the which were carryed into *Spaine*, *Barbarie*, and diuers other countries. The *Sophie* then asked him by what meanes such merchandize might be brought into *Persia*. Right well, sir (said he), by the way of *Moscouia*, with more safetie and in much shorter time then the Venetians can bring them; first from England to *Venice*, and from thence into *Persia* by the way of Turkie. And, therefore, if it shall please your Maiestie to grant vs free passage into all your dominions, with such priuileges as may appertaine to the safegard of our liues, goods, and merchandize, we will furnish your countries with all such merchandize and other commodities in shorter time and better cheape then you may haue the same at the Turks hands. This talke, and much more, was betweene the *Sophie* and *Edwardes* for the space of two hours, all which thinges liked him so well that shortly after he granted to the said *Arthur Edwardes* other priuileges for the trade of merchandize into *Persia*, all written in Azure and gold letters, and deliuered vnto the lord

The Venetians traffike in England.

[1] *Cf. ante*, p. 391.

keeper of the *Sophie* his great seale. The lord keeper was named *Coche Califay*,[1] who sayd that when the *Shaugh* (that is, the king or prince) did sit to seale any letters, that last priuiledge should be sealed and deliuered to *Laurence Chapman*. In this priuiledge is one principall article for seruants and merchants: That if the Agent do perceiue that vpon their naughtie doings they would become Bursomen, that then the Agent, wheresoeuer he shall find any such seruant or seruants, to take them and put them in prison, and no person to keepe them or maintaine them. This article was granted in respect of a custome among the Persians, being Mahometans, whose maner is friendly, to receiue and wel entertaine both with gifts and liuing all such Christians as, forsaking their religion, wil become of the religion of the Persians. Insomuch that before this priuiledge was granted, there was great occasion of naughtie seruants to deceiue and rob their masters, that vnder the colour of professing that religion, they might liue among them in such safetie that you might haue no lawe agaynst them, either to punish them or to recouer your goods at their hands or elsewhere. For before the Sophie (whom they say to be a maruelous wise and gracious prince) seemed to favour our nation and to graunt them such priuiledges, the people abused them very much, and so hated them that they would not touch them, but reuiled them, calling them *Cafars* and *Gawars*,[2] which is infidels or misbeleeuers. But after they saw how greatly the prince fauoured them, they had them afterward in great reuerence, and would kisse their hands and vse them very friendly. For before they tooke it for no wrong to rob them, defraud them, beare false witnesse against them, and such merchandizes as they had bought or sold make them take it againe and change it, as often as them listed. And if any stranger by chance had killed one of them, they would haue the life of two for one slaine; and for the debts of any stranger, would take the goods of any other of the same nation, with many other such like abuses in maner vnknowen to the prince, before the complaints of our men made vnto him for reformation of such abuses; which were

[1] *I.e.*, *Khush Khalifa*, the happy deputy.

[2] Kafirs and Giaours.

the cause that no merchant strangers of contrary religion durst come into his dominions with their commodities, which might be greatly to the profite of him and his subiects.

The articles of the Second priuiledge deliuered to Laurence Chapman, which are to be annexed vnto the former priuiledge.[1]

10. Item, that the merchants haue free libertie, as in their first priuiledge,[2] to goe into *Gillan* and all other places of his dominions, now or hereafter when occasion shall be giuen.

11. Item, if by misfortune any of their ships should breake or fall upon any part of his dominions on the seacoast, his subiects to helpe with all speed to save the goods, and to be deliuered to any of the said merchaunts that liueth; or otherwise to be kept in safetie vntil any of them come to demaund them.

12. Item, if any of the said merchants depart this life in any citie or towne, or on the high way, his gouernours there to see their goods safely kept, and to bee deliuered to any other of them that shall demaund them.

13. Item, the said merchants to take such camell men as they themselves will, being countrey people, and that no *Kissell Bash*[3] doe let or hinder them. And the said owners of the camels to bee bound to answere them such goods as they shall receiue at their hands, and the camell men to stand to the losses of their camels or horses.

14. Item more, that the said carriers do demaund no more of them then their agreement was to pay them.

15. Item more, if they be at a price with any carriers and haue giuen earnest, the Camel men to see they keepe their promise.

16. Item, if any of the said merchants be in feare to trauell, to

[1] *Hakl.*, 1589, pp. 417-418; Eden, pp. 334, 335.

[2] *Cf. ante*, pp. 403-4.

[3] Kizil Bash, or red head; *i.e.*, Persian.—*Cf. ante*, p. 380.

give them one or more to goe with them and see them in safetie with their goods to the place they will goe vnto.

17. Item, in all places, to say in all cities, townes, or villages on the high way, his subiects to giue them honest roume and vitails for their money.

18. Item, the sayd merchants may, in any place where they shall thinke best, build or buy any house or houses to their owne vses. And no person to molest or trouble them, and to stand in any Carauan where they will or shall think good.

The commodities which the merchants may have by this trade into Persia are thought to be great, and may in time perhaps be greater then the Portingals trade into the East Indies, for as much as by the way of Persia into England, the returne may be made euery yeere once, whereas the Portingals make the returne from *Calecut*[1] but once in two yeeres, by a long and dangerous voiage, all by sea.[2] For whereas the citie and Island of *Ormus*, lying in the gulfe of Persia, is the most famous mart towne in all East India,[3] whither all the merchaundises of India are brought, the same may in shorter time and more safely be brought by land and riuers through Persia euen vnto the *Caspian* sea, and from thence by the countreis of Russia or Moscouia by riuers euen vnto the citie of *Yeraslaue*, and from thence by land a hundred and fourscore miles [versts][4] to *Vologda*, and from thence againe, all by water, euen vnto England.[5]

The merchandises which he had out of Persia for the returne of wares are silke of all sortes and colours, both rawe and wrought. Also all maner of spices and drugs, pearles and precious stones,

[1] *I.e.*, Calicut.

[2] Round the Cape of Good Hope.

[3] *Cf. ante*, p. 147, *note.*

[4] *Cf. Hakl.*, 1589, p. 386.

[5] Edwards was evidently too sanguine about the Persian trade. His idea was to send the merchandise to Astrakhan early in April (*ante*, p. 401), thence up the Volga to Yaroslavl, by land 120 miles to Vologda, and down the Dwina to Kholmogori, so as to be in time to be shipped the same year for England. This could hardly have been done under the conditions of transport available in those days. But with the present improved means of communication by rail and steamboat, the quickest and easiest way of reaching Persia is through Russia, though bulky goods could not probably bear the cost of transport.

likewise carpets of diuers sortes, with diuers other rich merchandises. It was told mee of them that came last from Persia, that there is more silke brought into some one citie of Persia then is of cloth brought into the citie of London. Also that one village of Armenia, named *Gilgat*, doth carie yeerly fiue hundred, and sometime a thousand, mules laden with silke to *Halepo*,[1] in *Soria* [Syria], of Turkie, being foure daies iourney from *Tripoli*, where the Venetians haue their continuall abiding, and send from thence silkes, which they returne for English karsies and other clothes into all partes of Christendome.

The maner how the Christians become Busormen,[2] and forsake their religion.

I haue noted here before, that if any Christian will become a Busorman, that is one that hath forsaken his faith, and be a *Mahumetan* of their religion, they giue him many gifts, and sometime also a liuing. The maner is that when the deuill is entred into his heart to forsake his faith he resorteth to the Solton or gouernour of the towne, to whom he maketh protestation of his diuilish purpose. The gouernour appointeth him a horse, and one to ride before him on another horse, bearing a sword in his hand, and the *Busor* man bearing an arrow in his hand, and rideth in the citie, cursing his father and mother; and if euer after he returne to his owne religion, hee is guiltie of death, as is signified by the sword borne before him. A yong man, a seruant of one of our merchants, because he would not abide the correction of his master for his faultes, was minded to forsake his faith;

[1] Aleppo. In Tavernier's time (1643) Aleppo did a large trade, and her chief craftsmen were silk and chamlet weavers. The earthquake of 1822 completely ruined this city.—See Tavernier's travels in *Harris's Collection*, vol. ii, p. 309.

[2] *I.e.*, Muhammadans, *cf.* p. 79, *note*; Eden, p. 335.

but (as God would) he fell suddenly sicke and died, before he gaue himselfe to the deuill. If he had become a *Busor* man, he had greatly troubled the merchants, for if he would then haue sayd that halfe their goods had bene his, they would haue giuen credite vnto him. For the auoiding of which inconuenience, it was granted in the priuileges that no *Busor* man, &c., as there appeareth.

In Persia, in diuers places, oxen and kine beare the tents and houshold stuffe of the poore men of the countrey, which haue neither camels nor horses.

Of the tree which beareth Bombasine[1] cotton or Gossampine.[2]

In Persia is great abundance of *Bombasine* cotton & very fine. This groweth on a certaine litle tree or brier, not past y^e^ height of a mans waste, or litle more. The tree hath a slender stalk like vnto a brier, or to a carnation gilleflowre,[3] with very many branches, bearing on euery branch a fruit, or rather a cod, growing in round forme, conteining in it the cotton. And when this bud or cod commeth to the bignesse of a wallnutt, it openeth, and sheweth foorthe the cotton, which groweth still in bignesse vntill it be like a fleece of wooll as big as a mans fist, and beginneth to be loose ; and then they gather it, as it were the ripe fruit. The seeds of these trees are as big as peason, and are blacke, and somewhat

[1] Bombasine was a material made of silk and worsted. By "bombasine cotton" is probably meant "bombast", *i.e.*, cotton used for stuffing garments. The word, however, is derived from the Greek *bombyx*, silk. Cotton fabrics had already been manufactured in England at that time, and we read of them among the earliest imports into Russia.—*Cf. ante*, Introductory remarks; Chambers's *Etymological Dict.*

[2] Eden, p. 336.

[3] *Gilleflowre* (Gilly flower), popular name for stock, wallflower, etc.; so-called from its clove-like smell, from the Greek *karyophyllon*, "clove-tree"; Fr. *giroflée*.—Chambers's *Etym. Dict.*

flat and not round; they sowe them in plowed ground, where they grow in the fields in great abundance in many countries in Persia and diuers other regions.

The writing of the Persians.[1]

Arthur Edwards shewed me a letter of the Sophie, written in their letters backward, subsigned with the hands both of the Sophie and his Secretarie. The Sophies subscription was only one word (his name, I suppose, was Shaugh) written in golden letters vpon red paper. The whole letter was also written on the same piece of red paper, being long and narrow, about y^{e} length of a foote, and not past three inches broad. The priuate signet of the Sophie was a round printed marke about the bignes of a riall, onely printed vpon the same paper without any waxe or other seale; the letters seeme so mishapen and disordered that a man would thinke it were somwhat scribbled in maner at aduentures. Yet they say that almost euery letter, with his pricke or circumflexe, signifieth a whole word, insomuch that in a piece of paper as big as a mans hand, their writing doth containe as much as doth ours almost in a sheete of paper.

[1] Eden, p. 336.

IX.

The first Voyage into Persia made by Master Thomas Banister and Master Jeffrey Ducket,[1] agents for the Moscouie companie; begun from England in the yeere 1568, and continuing to the yeere 1574 following.

Written by P. I. from the mouth of Master Lionel Plumtree.[2]

VPON the 3. day of Iuly 1568 [1569][3] they embarked themselues at *Yeraslaue*, being accompanied with *Lionel Plumtree* and some 12. Englishmen more, in a barke called the *Thomas Bonauenture*, of the burden of 70. tunnes, taking also along with them of Russes to the number of 40. for their vse and imploiments. It fell out in the way, before they came to *Astracan* by 40. miles, that the *Nagaian* Tartares, being a kind of theeuish and cruell people, made an assault vpon them with 18. boates of theirs, each of them being armed, some with swords, some with speares, and some others with bowes and arrowes, and the whole number of them they discouered to bee about 300. men.[4] They, for their partes, although they could haue wished a quiet voiage and iourney, without blowes and violence, yet not willing to be spoiled with such Barbarians as they were, began to defend themselues against

[1] Bannister and Duckett accompanied Thomas Randolph to Russia in 1568, and took part in his embassy to the Tsar, being specially commissioned to settle the affairs of the Russia company.—See their letters, *ante*, pp. 258, 264.

[2] *Hakl.*, 1589, pp. 419-425.

[3] They arrived at St. Nicholas on the 23rd July 1568, and proceeded with Randolph to Mosco, where they passed the winter of that year. Their names occur in the privileges granted to the English merchants in June 1569; and among the special grants mention is made of letters for their journey to Persia.—*Cf. ante*, pp. 266, 275.

[4] In the fight which ensued, Bannister was wounded twice, and owed his preservation to a shirt of mail.—Bannister to Cecil, *Cal. S. P.*, For. Eliz., 1570, No. 813.

their assault, by meanes whereof a very terrible and fierce fight followed, and continued hote and sharpe for two howers, wherein our men so well plaid their parts with their caliuers that they forced the Tartares to flee with the losse of 120. of them, as they were afterwards enformed by a Russe prisoner, which escaped from the *Nagaians*, and came to them to *Astracan*, at which towne they arriued the 20. of August.

In this towne of *Astracan* they were somewhat hindered of their iourney, and staied the space of 6. weekes by reason of a great armie of 70,000. Turkes and Tartares, which came thither vpon the instigation of the great Turke, hoping either to haue surprised it suddenly, or by continuance of siege to win the same. But in the end, by reason that the winter approched, as also because they had receiued newes of a great expedition which the Emperor of Russia was in prouiding for the defence of the sayde place, they were constrained to raise their siege, and to leave the towne as they found it.[1]

Vpon their departure, our men had opportunitie to proceed on their voyage; and vsing the occasion, they left *Astracan* and came to *Bilbil*[2] towards the end of October; from whence they went to *Shauaran*,[3] where (as they lodged in their tents) they were greatly

[1] The event here referred to is the invasion of Russia by Selim, son of Solyman the Great, in 1569. It was on this occasion that an unsuccessful attempt was made to cut a canal between the Volga and the Don. The combined force of Turks and Tartars, numbering about 70,000, arrived before Astrakhan on the 16th September. Finding, however, the town stronger than they anticipated, and fearing the Tsar would relieve it, this army retired. Their retreat, begun on the 26th September, was disastrous in the extreme; many perished from famine and exhaustion in the desert, others were struck down by bands of Circassians posted in ambush, only a few emaciated survivors returning to Azof.—*Karamsin*, ix, pp. 155-164; *Cal. S. P.*, For. Eliz., 1570, No. 813.

[2] *Cf. ante*, p. 407.

[3] Shabran, *cf. ante*, p. 131. This ancient city gave its name to a district, which formed a considerable portion of the province of Kuba (now comprised in the government of Baku), and included eighty-one villages. There are some coins of Tokhtamish Khan stamped in Shabran about A.D. 1388. Shabran is mentioned by Olearius, secretary

molested with strange troopes of *sholcaues*,[1] or foxes, which were so busie with them that they tooke their meate and victuals out of their lodgings, and deuoured to the bare bones in one night a mightie wild Bore that was sent vnto them for a present from the gouernour of the country.

Having staied here some three or foure dayes in prouiding of cariages and other necessaries for their iourney, they departed thence and came to *Shamachie*, which is foure dayes iourney[2] from the aforesayd *Shauaran*. In this towne of *Shamachie* their whole company spent out the winter, and from thence to Aprill following they tooke their iourney towards *Ardowil*,[3] a place of great account and much esteemed, by reason of the sepulchres of the Emperours of Persia, which for the most part lie there buried, and so is growen to be a place of their superstitious deuotion. In this towne of *Ardowill* they soiourned for the space of 5. or 6. moneths, finding some traffique and sales; but to no purpose, the towne being more inhabited and frequented with gentlemen and noblemen then merchants.

The difference of religion bred great broiles in this towne whiles they remained there; for the brother sought the destruction of the brother, and the neerest kinsemen rose vp one against an other,[4] insomuch that one of their companie, *Lionell Plumtree*, hath seene in one day sometimes 14. slaine in a garboile.[5] And

to the Dutch embassy in 1638. It was destroyed by Stenko Razin's Cossacks in 1669, and never afterwards rebuilt.—*Kazam-bek*, *op. cit.*, p. 30; *Semeonof*, arts., "Kuba; Shabran"; *Howorth*, pt. ii, div. 1, p. 258.

[1] *Sholcaues* (*Shakal*, Russ.; *Chacal*, Fr.; *Canis aureus*, Lat.). The jackal is common in the Caspian provinces of Persia, and in Caucasia (see Gmelin, in *Hist. des Découvertes*, 3, 240; *Eastern Persia*, ii, 37).—See *infra*.

[2] Jenkinson reached Shamaky on the sixth day after leaving Shabran.—*Cf. ante*, p. 131.

[3] Ardebil, *cf. ante*, p. 140.

[4] The intestine wars in Persia, in Shah Tahmasp's reign, reduced that country to a state of great misery.

[5] *Garboile*, a tumult, uproar, or commotion.

> "Look here, and at thy sov'reign leisure read
> The garboils she awak'd."—*Ant. and Cleop.*, i, 3.
>
> Nares's *Glossary*.

he being further desirous to see their maner of fight, or rather somewhat more curious to behold, then mistrustfull of their blowes, was like to have borne a share in their bloodie tragedie, being twise wounded with their shot and arrowes, although not to the death.

At this towne the *Shaw Thamas* sent a messenger for our men to come to his presence at *Casbin*, to whome *Thomas Banister* failed not to goe, although master *Ducket* lay very sicke at *Ardowill*, and in such case that they almost despaired of his recouerie. He being come to the *Shaugh*, was receiued and entertained of him with great fauour and speciall countenaunce, and had the most part of all his requests graunted him[1]: this onely excepted, that whereas he entreated a priuiledge or sufferance to transport and carie through his dominions certaine horses into India, the *Shaugh* seemed loth to yeeld thereunto, and yet did not altogether denie it, but referred it to some further time. As for the point of traffique, hee could not make that motion or request that was not so soone graunted as it was preferred. And the *Shaugh* himselfe bought there of him many kersies, and made him as good paiment as any man could wishe, and oftentimes would send his money for the wares before the wares were deliuered, that he might bee the surer of this honourable intended dealing.

One thing somewhat straunge I thought good in this place to remember, that whereas hee purposed to send a great summe of money to *Mecca* in Arabia, for an offering to *Mahomet* their prophet, hee would not send any money or coine of his owne, but sent to the English merchants to exchange his coyne for theirs, according to the value of it: yeelding this reason for the same, that the money of the merchants was gotten by good meanes and with good consciences, and was therefore woorthie to bee made an oblation to their holy prophet, but his owne money was rather got ten by fraud, oppression, and vnhonest meanes, and therefore was not fit to serue for so holie a vse.

[1] A copy of the "Priviledges granted by Shah Tahmasp to the merchants" (among whom are the names of Bannister, Ducket, and Chapman) "of England, 'my greatest and best merchants'," etc., is preserved among the *State Papers*.—See *Cal. S. P.*, E. Ind., 1570 (?).

After sixe moneths spent in *Casbin*, the said *Thomas Banister* departed towards the great citie of *Tauris*, where hauing arriued, hee found master *Ducket* well recouered of his sickenesse, whom he had left ill at *Ardowill*.

At this citie the foresayd master *Ducket* made sales of the English commodities, remaining there to that purpose the space of two yeeres and a halfe. And besides other kindes of merchandises of that countrey, he bought great store of gals,[1] which grow in great abundance at a place within one dayes iourney of the aforesaid *Tauris*.

After this, *Thomas Banister* departed from *Tauris* and went to *Shamakie* to giue order for the transporting of those commodities which were bought for England; and having dispatched them away, he went there hence to *Arrash*, a town foure dayes iourney, with camels from *Shamachie*, for the buying of rawe silke.[2] But there, by reason of the vnwholesomnesse of the ayre and corruption of the waters in the hote time of the yeere, hee, with *Lawrence Chapman* and some other Englishmen vnhappily died[3]: which being knowen of master *Ducket*, hee immediately came from *Tauris* to *Arrash* to take possession of the goods; for otherwise, by the custome of the countrey, if there had bene no merchaunt or other friend of his to enter vpon that which hee left, all had fallen into the *Shaugh's* hands; which goods, notwithstanding, could not bee recouered from the officers which had seased and sealed vp the same, vntill master *Ducket* had bene in person with the *Shaugh*, and had procured his order for the deliuerie thereof.

The death of Master Banister.

[1] Duckett writes that he had sent 21,100 batmans (each 6lb. Eng.), but that for want of carriage they had been left at Astrakhan. All the galls (*ante*, p. 400) imported into Christendom came from Persia, and were brought by the Venetians. He had known them worth £10 the hundred, and he expected the Company would make £10,000 on this consignment.—Duckett to Cecil, 4th April 1572.—*S. P.*, Colonial, E. Ind., vol. i.

[2] *Cf. ante*, p. 136.

[3] Bannister died at Arrash (Ganja) on the 29th July 1571. Five Englishmen in all died at this place, and two were robbed and murdered, so that their number was diminished by seven in five weeks.—*Cf.* Duckett to Cecil, 4th April 1572; *S. P.*, Colonial, E. Ind., vol. i.

Lionell Plumtree, in the meane time that master *Ducket* was at *Casbin* in sute for goodes, vpon the perswasion of certayne Bogharians, made prouision for a iourney to *Cathaya* with cariages[1] and commodities, and, having all things readie, departed secretly with a carauan. But beyng gone forwards on his way sixe dayes iourney, some fiftie horsemen, by the procurement of *Humfrey Greensell* (who afterwards, beyng at *Ormuz* in the East Indias, was there cruelly burnt in the Inquisition by the Portingals), were sent after him in poste from *Soltan Erasbecke*,[2] the *Shaughs* lieutenant, to fetche him backe agayne, not suffering him to passe on so perillous and dangerous a iourney for feare of diuers inconueniences that might follow.

After this, master *Ducket* returned from *Casbin* to *Shamachie* againe, and immediately made preparation for a iourney to *Cashan*, beyng about foure[3] dayes iourney from *Shamachie*, and caried with him 4. mules laden with money. In the way of his trauell hee passed through *Persipolis*, sometime the royall seate of the Emperours of Persia, but now altogether ruined and defaced, wherof remayne to be seene at this day two gates onely, that are distant one from the other the space of 12. miles, and some few pinnacles in the mountaines and conueiances for fresh water.[4]

The foresayde *Cashan* is a towne that consisteth all together of merchaundise, and the best trade of all the lande is there, beyng greatly frequented by the merchauntes of India. Here our men bought great store of all maner of wrought silkes and some spices, and good store of Turkie stones. The towne is much to be com-

[1] *Cf.* Acts xxi, 15 : "We took up our *carriages*". Revised version reads *baggage*.

[2] *Cf. ante*, p. 407.

[3] Probably an error for *twenty-four*.—*Cf. ante*, p. 412.

[4] Persepolis, about thirty-five miles N.E. of Shiraz, on the road to Ispahan. Scant justice is done in our text to the splendid remains of the ancient capital of Xerxes, visited and described by so many travellers, from Chardin to modern days, and figured in Fergusson's *Palaces of Nineveh and Persepolis Restored*, and Kossowicz' *Inscriptiones Palæo-Persicæ* (St. Petersburg, 1872), pp. 58, 103. For a recent account of the ruins of Persepolis, see *Telegraph and Travel*, by Sir F. Goldsmid, p. 191.

mended for the ciuill and good gouernement that is there vsed. An idle person is not suffered to liue amongst them. The childe that is but fiue yeeres olde is set to some labour. No ill rule, disorder, or riote, by gaming or otherwise, is there permitted. Playing at dice or cardes is by the lawe present death.[1]

At this *Cashan* they remayned about the space of tenne weekes, and then came downe againe to *Shamachie*, and after some time spent in diuers places of the countrey for buying of rawe silke and other commodities, they came at last to *Shauaran* againe, where their ship was in harbour. And then they shipt all their goodes and embarked themselues also, setting sayle the eight day of May in the yeere 1573, intending to fetch *Astracan*. By reason of the varietie of the windes and dangerous flats of the *Caspian* sea, they beat it vp and downe some 20. dayes. And the 28. day, riding at anker vpon the flats, certaine Russe Cassaks, which are outlawes, or banished men, hauing intelligence of their being there, and of the great wealth they had with them, came to them with diuers boates, vnder the colour of friendship, and entred their ship, but immediately they tooke their hatchets and slew diuers of the Russes that were of the ship vpon the hatches. Whereupon Master *Ducket*, *Lionel Plumtree*, *William Smith*, the master, a man of singular valure, and *Amos Riall*, being under the spardecke, did so well behaue themselues that they skowered [secured] the hatches and slew 14. of the Cassaks gunners, and hurt and wounded aboue 30. more, being of them all in number 150. at the

[1] Kashan, ninety-two miles north of Ispahan, 3,690 feet above sea-level, is situated on the verge of a desert, but is surrounded by gardens, and has always been celebrated for its silk industry. Sir Thomas Herbert says of Kashan, that "the people are orderly and more giuen to trade than in some greater towns about her. Silkes, Sattens, and Cloth of Gold are here in great aboundance and at reasonable prices." Malcolm remarks that the inhabitants of Kashan are more celebrated as silk-weavers than warriors, and illustrates his meaning by an amusing story. In 1870 the population of Kashan was estimated at 90,000, and its inhabitants still retained their industrious habits and love of peace.—*A Relation of Some Yeares Trauaile*, London, 1634, p. 134; *Sketches of Persia*, ii, p. 4; *Eastern Persia*, i, p. 154.

least, armed with caliuers and other weapons fit for so villanous a purpose.

Master *Ducket*, notwithstanding, and the rest aforesayd receiued diuers wounds from the enemie, and were so hurt, and withall so oppressed with the multitude and force of them, that they were at last constrained to make an agreement with the Cossaks by rendring the ship into their hands, hauing receiued first their othes sworne by their crucifixes not to doe any further harm to their persons.

Thus the shippe beyng taken, and all the English greuously hurt, the Cassaks immediately discharged the ship of them, putting them all into the ship boate, with two or three Persian targets full of grosse flesh and swines fleshe, without further victuals or reliefe. They being in that case, made the best hast they could to get to *Astracan;* and being come to the towne, Master *Ducket* made great sute to the captaine to haue men and boates set out for the reskuing and recouering of the ship if it were possible, who immediately sent out his sonne with fortie boates and fiue hundred men to pursue the pirats, and by good hap came to the place where they rid at anker with the ship, but by reason of their foolishnesse in striking vp their drummes before they were come neare them, the Cassaks discouering the boates, cut their cables and put out to sea; whereupon the boates not being able to follow them, returned againe to *Astracan*. After which three score boates more were sent out to pursue them agayne the second time, and that second armie came to a place where they found many of those Cassaks and slew them, and found out the places where they had hid certaine parcels of their goods in the earth in the chestes of the ship. All which they recouered againe for the English merchants, to the valew of 5000. li. of 30. or 40. thousand pound; but all the rest the Cassaks in the ship had caried away.

In the same place they found further diuers of the Cassaks which the English men had slaine buried in the earth, and wrapt, some in fortie or fiftie yardes of sattin and taffetaes, and some in Turkie carpets cut out and spoyled by those vilanous pirats, of whom afterwardes, as many as could be taken by the Persians,

who entirely loued the English merchants, were put to most cruel torments in all places, according to their deserts.

But our men, being thus spoyled of their goods and wounded in their bodies, remained about two moneths at *Astracan* for their better recouerie; and hauing gotten some reasonable strength, they then prouided boates and went vp the riuer *Volga* to *Cazan*, with such goods as they had recouered from the Cassaks. From *Cazan* they went towards *Yeraslaue*, but in the way the ice intercepted them about the beginning of October, where suddenly in the night they were taken with a cruell and vehement frost, and there withall the waters so congeled that their boates were crushed and cut in sunder with the ice, whereby they sustained both a further daunger of life and losse of goods. But as much as they could preserue with much adoe they conueyed ouer land in sleds to *Vologda*, and from thence sent much of it to *S. Nicholas*, to bee laden in the shippes for England.

But Master *Ducket*, *Lionell Plumtree*, and *Amos Riall* went with some parcels to the *Mosko*, and there sold certaine quantities of it to the Emperour, who, pitying the mightie losse that they had sustained by his owne rebellious people and subiects, bought himselfe as much as hee liked, and paied present money for the same. So that winter beyng spent out in *Mosko*, and such wares prouided by them as serued for England, they departed to *S. Nicholas*, and there embarked in the moneth of August; and hauing indured a very terrible passage, in nine weekes and three dayes, with some hardnesse of victuals, contrary and furious windes, and other sea accidents, they arriued at London in the moneth of October, one thousand fiue hundred seventie and foure, and so made an ende of an vnfortunate voyage, which, if it had pleased God to prosper that all things had come home as safely as they were carefully prouided and painfully laboured for, it had proued the richest voyage and most profitable returne of commoditie that had euer bene vndertaken by English merchants, who, notwithstanding all misfortunes, lost nothing of their principall aduenture, but onely the interest and gaine that might haue risen by the vse of their stocke in the meane time.

Further obseruations concerning the state of Persia, taken in the foresayd fift voyage into those partes, and written by Master Jeffrey Ducket, one of the Agents employed in the same.[1]

Shamachie is the fairest towne in all *Media*, and the chiefest commoditie of that countrey is rawe silke, and the greatest plentie thereof is at a towne three dayes iourney from *Shamachie*, called *Arash;* and within three dayes iourney of *Arash* is a countrey named *Groisine*, whose inhabitants are Christians, and are thought to bee they which are otherwise called *Georgians*. There is also much silke to bee solde. The chiefe Towne of that countrey is called *Zegham*,[2] from whence is caried yeerely into Persia an incredible quantitie of Hasell nuts, all of one sort and goodnesse, and as good and thinne shaled as our Filberds; of these are caried yeerely the quantitie of 4000. camels laden.

Of the name of the Sophie of Persia, and why he is called the Shaugh; and of other customes.[3]

The King of Persia, whom here we call the great Sophi, is not there so called, but is called the *Shawgh*. It were there daungerous to call him by the name of *Sophi*, because that *Sophi* in the Persian tongue is a begger, and it were so much as to call him the great begger.[4] He lieth at a towne called *Casbin*, which is situate in a goodly fertile valley of three or foure dayes iourney in length. The towne is but euill builded, and for the most part all of bricke, not hardened with fire, but onely dried at the Sunne, as is the most part of the building of all Persia. The King hath not come out of the compasse of his owne house in three and thirtie or foure and thirtie yeeres, whereof the cause is not knowen, but as they

[1] Eden, p. 324.

[2] *Zegham*, or Zeghan (Zagan), is mentioned by Colonel Monteith, who passed it on the road to Tiflis. Before reaching it, he came to the ruins of an extensive city called Shumkher, described by old Persian authors as the principal city in this district.

[3] Eden, pp. 334, 335, *ante*.

[4] *Cf. ante*, p. 112, *note*.

say, it is vpon a superstition of certaine prophesies, to which they are greatly addicted. Hee is now about foure-score yeeres of age, and very lustie. And to keepe him the more lustie, he hath foure wiues alwayes, and about three hundred concubines; and once in the yeere he hath all the faire maidens and wiues that may be found a great way about brought vnto him, whom he diligently peruseth, feeling them in all partes, taking such as he liketh, and putting away some of them which hee hath kept before, and with them that he putteth away he gratifieth some such as hath done him the best seruice. And if he chaunce to take any mans wife, her husband is very glad thereof; and in recompense of her, oftentimes he giueth the husband one of his olde store, whom he thankfully receiueth.

How strangers are vsed.

If any stranger, being a Christian, shall come before him, he must put on a new paire of shooes made in that countrey[1]; and from the place where he entereth, there is digged as it were a causie [causeway] all the way, vntill he come to the place where he shall talke with the king, who standeth alwayes aboute in a gallerie when he talketh with any strangers; and when the stranger is departed, then is the causie cast downe, and the ground made euen againe.

Of the religion of the Persians.[2]

Their religion is all one with the Turkes, sauing that they differ who was the right successour of Mahumet. The Turkes say that it was one *Homer* [Omar] and his sonne *Vsman* [Osman]; but the Persians say that it was one *Mortus Ali*,[3] which they would prooue in this maner. They say there was a counsell called to decide the matter who should bee

[1] This custom is mentioned by Jenkinson (*cf. ante*, p. 145), but Sir John Malcolm explains in a note that the fancied insult to Jenkinson, of sending him a pair of slippers, that his feet should not pollute the sacred carpet, was attributable to the habits of Persians, who use the same carpet for eating and sleeping on.—*Hist. of Persia*, i, 513.

[2] Eden, pp. 325, 328.

[3] *Cf. ante*, pp. 145, 154. Ali was cousin and son-in-law of Mahomet, having married Fatima, the prophet's daughter. Ali's second name was Murtadha or Murtaza, which signifies "agreeable to God" and "well received of God".—D'Herbelot, *Biblioth. Orientale.*

the successour; and after they had called vpon Mahumet to reueale vnto them his will and pleasure there in, there came among them a litle Lizard, who declared that it was Mahumets pleasure that *Mortus Ali* should bee his successour. This *Mortus Ali* was a valiant man, and slew *Homer*,[1] the Turkes prophet. He had a sword that he fought withall, with the which he conquered all his enemies, and killed as many as he stroke. When *Mortus Ali* died, there came a holy prophet, who gaue them warning that shortly there would come a white Camell, vpon the which hee charged them to lay the body & sword of *Mortus Ali*, and to suffer the Camel to carie it whither he would.[2] The which being perfourmed, the said white camell caried the sword and body of *Mortus Ali* vnto the sea side, and the camell going a good way into the sea was, with the sword and body of *Mortus Ali*, taken vp into heauen, for whose returne they have long looked in Persia. And for this cause, the king alwayes keepeth a horse readie sadled for him, and also of late kept for him one of his owne daughters to be his wife, but she died in the yeere of our Lorde 1573.[3] And say, furthermore, that if hee come not shortly, they shalbe of our beliefe; much like the Jewes looking for their Messias to come and reigne among them, like a worldly king, for euer, and deliuer them from the captiuitie which they are nowe in among the Christians, Turkes, and Gentiles.

A goodly and well grounded religion.

The *Shaugh*, or King of Persia, is nothing in strength and power comparable vnto the Turke; for although he hath a great dominion,

[1] Omar, who succeeded Abu-bekr as second khalif, after Mahomet was murdered by a Persian slave named Firuz, in the twenty-third year of the Hejra.—D'Herbelot, *Bibl. Orient.*

[2] Ali's place of burial was always kept concealed during the Khalifat of the Ommiades, and was not discovered till the reign of the Abbasides. Hence all kinds of extraordinary stories were set on foot about his disappearance, and these were generally credited by the Persians, who still look for his coming, at the end of the world, to administer justice.—*Ibid.*

[3] Sir Thos. Herbert says that for the first thousand years after Mahomet, the kings of Persia always kept a horse saddled for him and one of their daughters reserved for the prophet or for Hussein, younger son of Ali.—*Op. cit.*, p. 158.

yet is it nothing to be compared with the Turkes; neither hath hee any great ordinance, or gunnes, or harquebasses. Notwithstanding, his eldest sonne, *Ismael*,[1] about twentie and fiue yeeres past, fought a great battaile with the Turke, and slew of his armie about an hundreth thousand men; who, after his returne, was by his father cast into prison, and there continueth vntil this day, for his father, the *Shaugh*, had him in suspition that he would haue put him downe and haue taken the regiment vnto himselfe.

Their opinion of Christ is, that hee was an holy man and a great Prophete, but not like vnto *Mahumet;* saying that *Mahumet* was the last prophet, by whome all things were finished, and was therefore the greatest. To prooue that Christ was not Gods sonne, they say that God had neuer wife, and therefore could haue no sonne or children. They goe on pilgrimage from the furthest part of Persia vnto *Mecha*, in Arabia, and by the way they visit also the Sepulchre of Christ at *Ierusalem*, which they now call *Couche Kalye*.[2] Their opinion of Christ.

The most part of spices which commeth into Persia is brought from the Islande of *Ormus*, situate in the gulfe of Persia, called *Sinus Persicus*, betweene the maine lande of Persia and Arabia, &c. The Portingals touche at *Ormus*, both in their voyage to East India and homewarde againe, and from thence bring all such spices as are occupied in Persia and the regions there about; for of pepper they bring very small quantitie, and that at a very deare price.

The Turkes oftentimes bring pepper from *Mecha*, in Arabia, which they sell as good cheape as that which is brought from *Ormus*. Silkes are brought from no place, but are wrought all in their owne countrey. *Ormus* is within two miles of the maine lande of Persia,[3] and the *Portingals* fetche their fresh water there, for the which they pay tribute to the *Shaugh*, or King of Persia.

[1] Ismail was the second son.—*Cf. ante*, p. 153, and *note*, *ib.*, where the same mistake is made.

[2] *Khush Kala*, the good or happy citadel. Schiltberger says the infidels call Jerusalem "Kurtzitalil". The latter part of this word is connected by M. Brunn with Abraham.—Schiltberger, in Hak. Soc., pp. 57, 198.

[3] New Ormuz was on an island; old Ormuz on the mainland.

Their money.

Within Persia they haue neither golde nor siluer mines, yet haue they coyned money, both of golde and siluer, and also other small moneis of copper. There is brought into Persia an incredible summe of Dutch dolers, which for the most part are there employed in rawe silke.

Their bookes and learning.

They haue fewe bookes and lesse learning, and are for the most part very brutish in all kinde of good sciences, sauing in some kind of silke workes, and in such things as pertaine to the furniture of horses, in the which they are passing good.

Such was the lawe of the Macedonians for treason.

Their lawes are, as is their religion, wicked and detestable. And if any man offend the prinse, he punisheth it extreemely, not onely in the person that offendeth, but also in his children, and in as many as are of his kinne. Theft and murther are often punished, yet none otherwise than pleaseth him that is ruler in the place where the offence is committed, and as the partie offending is able to make friends or with money to redeeme his offence.

Dissention for religion.

There is oftentimes great mutenie among the people in great townes which of *Mortus Ali* sonnes was greatest; insomuch that sometimes in the towne two or three thousande people are together by the eares for the same, as I haue seene in the towne of *Shamaky* and *Ardouill*, and also in the great city of *Teueris*, where I haue seene a man comming from fighting in a brauerie, bringing in his hande foure or fiue mens heads, carrying them b the haire of the head; for although they shaue their heads most commonly twise a weeke, yet leaue they a tuft of haire vpon the crowne, about two foote long. I haue enquired why they leaue that tuft of haire vpon their heads. They answere that thereby they may easyer bee caried vp into heauen when they are dead.

Their priests and preaching.

For their religion they haue certaine priestes, who are apparelled like vnto other men. They vse euery morning and afternoone to goe vp to the tops of their churches and tell there a great tale of *Mahumet & Mortus Ali;* and other preaching haue they none.

Their Lent.

Their Lent[1] is after Christmas, not in abstinence from flesh onely,

[1] The fast of Ramazan is here referred to. It lasts a month, and during its continuance no good Muhammadan will touch food from sunrise to sunset. The Muhammadan year being lunar, this fast may come at any season.

but from all meates and drinkes, vntill the day be off the skie; but then they eate sometimes the whole night. And although it be against their religion to drinke wine, yet at night they will take great excesse thereof, and be dronken. Their lent beginneth at the new moone, and they doe not enter into it vntill they haue seene the same. Neither yet doeth their lent ende vntill they haue seene the next newe moone, although the same (through close weather) should not be seene in long time.

Their saints and holy men.

They haue among them certaine holy men whome they call *Setes*,[1] counted holy for that they or any of their auncestors haue bene on pilgrimage at *Mecha*, in Arabia, for whosoeuer goeth thither on pilgrimage to visite the sepulchre of *Mahumet*, both hee and all his posteritie are euer after called *Setes*, and counted for holy men, and haue no lesse opinion of themselues. And if a man contrary one of these, hee will say that hee is a Saint, and therefore ought to be beleeued, and that hee cannot lie, although he lye neuer so shamefully. Thus a man may be to[o] holy; and no pride is greater then spirituall pride of a minde puffed vp with his owne opinion of holinesse. These *Setes* doe vse to shaue their heads all ouer, sauing on the sides a little aboue the temples, the which they leaue vnshauen, and vse to braide the same as women doe their haire, and to weare it as long as it will growe.

Pilgrimage.

Their prayer and worshipping of God and Mahumet.

Euery morning they vse to worship God, *Mahumet*, and *Mortus Ali*, and in praying turne themselves toward the South, because *Mecha* lieth that way from them. When they be in trauaile on the way, many of them will (as soone as the Sunne riseth) light from their horses, turning themselues to the South, and will laye their gownes before them, with their swordes and beades, and so standing vpright, worship to the South, and many times in their prayers kneele downe and kiss their beades, or somewhat els that lieth before them.

Their swearing.

When they earnestly affirme a matter they will sweare by God, *Mahumet*, or *Mortus Ali*, and sometimes by al at ones, as

[1] These *Setes* (Seyids) are evidently the same as the *Zieties* mentioned above (p. 149); they are descendants of Mahomet.

thus in their owne language, saying, *Olla, Mahumet, Ali.* But if hee sweare by the *Shaughes* head, in saying *Shaugham basshe*, you may then beleeue him if you wil.

The King's magnificence.

The *Shaugh* keepeth a great magnificence in his Court; and although sometimes in a moneth or sixe weekes none of his nobilitie or counsaile can see him, yet goe they dayly to the Court and tarie there a certaine time vntill they haue knowen his pleasure, whether he will commaund them any thing or not. He is watched euery night with a thousand of his men, which are called his *curshes*, who are they that he vseth to sende into the countries about his greatest affaires. When he sendeth any of them (if it be to the greatest of any of his nobilitie) he will obey them, although the messenger should beate any of them to death.

Pursiuants.

The King's company with his wiues and concubines.

The *Shaugh* occupieth himselfe alwayes two dayes in the weeke in his Bathstoue; and when he is disposed to goe thither, he taketh with him fiue or sixe of his concubines, more or lesse, and one day they consume in washing, rubbing, and bathing him, and the other day in paring his nailes, and other matters. The greatest part of his life hee spendeth amongst his wiues and concubines. Hee hath now reigned about fiftie and foure yeeres, and is therefore counted a very holy man, as they euer esteeme their kings if they haue reigned fiftie yeeres or more; for they measure the fauour of God by a man's prosperitie, or his displeasure by a man's misfortune or aduersitie. The great Turke hath this *Shaugh* in great reuerence because hee hath reigned king so long time.

The succession of the kingdome.

I haue said before that hee hath foure wiues, and as many concubines as him listeth; and if he chaunce to haue any children by any of his concubines, and bee minded that any of those children shall inherite after him, then when one of his wiues dieth, the concubine whom hee so fauoreth hee maketh one of his wiues, and the childe whome he so loueth best hee ordaineth to bee King after him.

What I heard of the maner of their marriages, for offending of honest consciences and chaste eares I may not commit to writing. Their fasting I haue declared before. They use circumcision vnto children of seuen yeeres of age, as doe the Turkes.

Circumcision.

Their houses (as I haue said) are for the most part made of bricke, not burned, but only dried in the Sunne. In their houses they have but little furniture of houshold stuffe, except it be their carpets and some copper worke, for all their kettles and dishes wherein they eate are of copper. They eate on the ground, sitting on carpets crosse legged, as doe tailers. There is no man so simple but he sitteth on a carpet, better or worse, and the whole house or roome wherin hee sitteth is wholy couered with carpets. Their houses are all with flat roofes, couered with earth; and in sommer time they lie vpon them all night. Their houses and maner of eating.

They have many bond seruants, both men and women. Bondmen and bondwomen is one of the best kinde of marchandise that any man may bring. When they buy any maydes or yong women they vse to feele them in all partes, as with vs men doe horses. When one hath bought a young woman, if hee like her hee will keepe for his owne vse as long as him listeth, and then selleth her to an other, who doeth the like with her. So that one woman is sometimes sold, in the space of foure or fiue yeeres, twelue or twentie times. If a man keepe a bonde woman for his owne vse, and if hee finde her to be false to him and giue her bodie to any other, hee may kill her if hee will. Bondmen and bondwomen. Women bought and sold and let to hire.

When a marchant or trauailer commeth to any towne where he entendeth to tary any time, he hireth a woman, or sometimes 2. or 3. during his abode there; and when hee commeth to an other towne he doeth the like in the same also; for there they vse to put out their women to hire, as wee doe here hackney horses.

There is a very great riuer which runneth through the plaine of *Iauat*, which falleth into the Caspian sea[1] by a towne called *Backo*, neere vnto which towne is a strange thing to behold—for there issueth out of the ground a marueilous quantitie of Oyle, which Oyle they fetch from the vttermost bounds of all Persia; it serueth all the countrey to burne in their houses Abundance of oyle issuing out of the ground.

This oyle is blacke, and is called *Nefte;* they use to cary it throughout all the countrey vpon kine and asses, of which you

[1] The river here referred to is the Kur, but its outfall in the Caspian is some distance south of Baku.—*Cf. ante*, p. 138, *note*.

shall oftentimes meete with foure or fiue hundred in a companie. There is also by the said towne of *Backo* an other kind of oyle, which is white and very precious, and is supposed to be the same that here is called *Petroleum*. There is also, not farre from *Shamaky*, a thing like vnto tarre, and issueth out of the ground, whereof wee haue made the proofe that in our ships it serueth well in the stead of tarre.[1]

Oleum Petroleum.

Two sorts of kine.

In Persia are kine of two sorts—the one like vnto ours in these partes; the other are marueilous euill fauoured, with great bones and very leane, and but little haire vpon them; their milke is walowish sweete. They are like vnto them which are spoken of in the Scripture, which in the dreame of *Pharao* signified the seuen deare yeeres, for a leaner or more euill fauoured beast can no man see.

Foxes in great plentie.

In the countrey of *Shiruan* (sometime called *Media*) if you chaunce to lye in the fields neere vnto any village as the twilight beginneth, you shall haue about you two or three hundred foxes,[2] which make a marueilous waweling or howling; and if you looke not well to your victuals, it shall scape them hardly but they will haue part with you.

The *Caspian* sea doeth neither ebbe nor flowe, except sometimes by rage of winde it swelleth up very high. The water is very salt; howbeit the quantitie of water that falleth out of the great riuer of *Volga* maketh the water fresh at the least twentie leagues into the sea. The *Caspian* sea is marueilous full of fish, but no kinde of monstrous fish as farre as I could vnderstand; yet hath it sundrie sortes of fishes which are not in these partes of the world.

The mutton there is good and the sheepe great, hauing very great rumps with much fat vpon them. Rise and mutton is their chiefe victuall.

[1] The oil wells in the province of Baku are alluded to by writers in the thirteenth century. The naptha, or petroleum, is of two kinds, the black and the white, the quality depending a great deal upon the soil through which the fluid percolates. The substance like tar, alluded to in the text, is probably bitumen, closely allied with petroleum in a semi-solid form.—*Kazem-beg*, p. 145; Yule's *Marco Polo*, 2nd ed., i, p. 48.

[2] *I.e.*, jackals, *cf. ante*, p. 425.

X.

Aduertisements and reports of the Sixt voyage into the partes of Persia and Media, for the company of English Merchants, for the discouerie of new trades, in the yeeres 1579, 1580, and 1581, gathered out of sundry letters written by Christopher Burrough, seruant to the said company, and sent to his vnkle, Master William Burrough.[1]

First, it is to be vnderstood, that the ships for the voiage to *S. Nicholas*, in Russia, in which the factors & merchandise for the Persian voiage were transported, departed from *Grauesend* the 19. of June 1579, which arriued at *S. Nicholas*, in Russia, the 22. of Iuly, where the factors and merchants landed, and the merchandize were discharged and laden into *doshnikes*,[2] that is, barkes of the countrey, to be caried from thence vp by riuer vnto *Vologda*. And the fiue and twentie day of the sayde Iulie, the *Doshenikes* departed from *Rose* Island by *Saint Nicholas* vp the Riuer *Dwina*, *Peremene*,[3] that is to say, poste by continuall sayling, rowing, setting with poles, or drawing of men, which came to *Colmogro* the 27. day, and departed thence the 29. day of Iulie vp the sayd riuer *Dwina*, and came to *Vstyoug*[4] (which is at the head of the riuer *Dwina* and mouth of *Sughano*) the 9. of August, where they stayed but a small time, prouiding some victualles, and shifting certaine of theyr cassacks, or barkemen, and so departed thence

[1] *Hakl.*, 1589, pp. 440-453.

[2] *Cf. ante*, p. 25.

[3] *Peremene*, from *peremenyait*, to change. The word in the text is applied to a station on the tow path for providing relays of bargemen for towing the vessels up the river. Communications in this way were far more rapid than at first, when the time taken by the laden boats to ascend the Dwina to Vologhda was five weeks.—*Cf. ante*, p. 245.

[4] *Cf. ante*, p. 24.

the same day by the riuer *Sugano*, and came to *Totma*[1] (which is counted some what more then halfe the way from *Vstioug*) the 15. day, where they shifted some of theyr cassaks, and departed thence the same day, and came to the citie *Vologda* the 19. of August, where they landed theyr goods, and stayed at that place till the 30. of the same. Hauing prouided at *Vologda*, *Telegas*,[2] our wagons, whereupon they laded theyr goods, they departed thence with the same, by land, towards *Yeraslaue*, the sayd 30. of August, at eight of the clocke in the morning, and came to the
Yeraslaue. East side of the riuer *Volga*, ouer against *Yeraslaue*, with 25. *Telegas*, laden with the said goods, the seuenth of September, at fiue of the clocke afternoone. Then the three stroogs,[3] or barks, prouided to transport the said goods to *Astracan* (where they should meet the shippe that should carrie the same from thence into Persia), came ouer from *Yeraslaue* vnto the same side of the riuer *Volga*, and there tooke in the said goods; and hauing prepared the said barks ready with all necessarie furniture, they departed with them from *Yeraslaue* downe the riuer *Volga* on the 14. day of September, at nine of the clocke in the morning, and they arriued at *Niznouogod*[4] the 17. day, at three of the clocke afternoone, where they shewed the Emperours letters to passe free without paying any custome, and tarryed there about three houres to prouide necessaries, and then departing, arriued at *Cazan* (or neere the same towne) on the 22. of September, at fiue of the clocke afternoone, where, through contrary windes and for prouiding new cassaks in the places of some that there went from them, they remayned till the 26. day, at what time they departed thence about two of the clocke after noone, and arriued at *Tetushagorod*,[5] which is on the *Crim* side of *Volga*, and in latitude 55.

[1] *Cf. ante*, p. 25.
[2] *Cf. ante*, p. 356.
[3] *Cf. ante*, p. 126.
[4] Nijny Novgorod.—*Cf. ante*, p. 45.
[5] Tetiushi (lat. 54° 57′ N.), now a district town of the Government of Kazan, on the right bank of the Volga, had only been founded a few years at the time of Christopher Burrough's voyage. It was designed to hold in check the inroads of the Nagays and Krim Tartars, and was strengthened by fortifications, some traces of which may still be seen. But these remains may refer to an ancient

degrees 22. minuts, the 28. day at ten in y^e forenoone, where they ankered, and remained about three houres; and departing thence, came to *Oueak*, which is on the *Crims* side (on the westerne side of *Volga*), the fift of October, about fiue of the clocke in the morning. This place is accounted halfe the way betweene *Cazan* and *Astracan*. And heere there groweth great store of Licoras;[1] the soile is very fruitfull; they found there apple trees and cherrie trees. The latitude of *Oueake* is 51. degrees 30. minuts. At this place had beene a very fayre stone castle, called by the name *Oueake*,[2] & adioyning to the same was a towne called by Russes *Sodom*. This towne & part of the castle (by report of the Russes) was swallowed into the earth by the iustice of God, for the wickednesse of the people that inhabited the same. There remaineth, at this day, to be seene a part of the ruines of the castle and certain tombs, wherein, as it seemeth, haue beene laid noble personages; for vpon a tombe stone might be perceiued the forme of a horse, and a man sitting on it with a bowe in his hand and arrowes girt to his side. There was a piece of scutchion also vpon one of the stones which had characters grauen on it, whereof some part had beene consumed with the weather, and the rest left vnperfect; but by the forme of them that remained we iudged them to be characters of *Armenia*. And other characters were grauen also vpon another tombe stone. Now they departed from *Oueake* the said fift of October, at fiue of the clocke afternoone, and came to *Perauoloke* the 10. day, about eleuen or twelue of the clocke at night, making no abode at that place, but passed alongst by it. This word *Perauoloke*[3] in the Russe tongue doth signifie a narrow straight, or necke of land, betweene two waters; and it is so called by them because from the riuer *Volga* at that place to the riuer *Don* or *Tanais* is counted thirtie versts, or as much as a man may well trauell on foot in one day.

Great store of Licoras.

town of the Bulghars, which, according to tradition, occupied the site of the Russian Tetiushi.—*Semeonof*, art. "Tetiushi"; *Shpilefsky*, *op. cit.*, p. 320.

[1] *Cf. ante*, p. 54.

[2] See *ante*, p. 54, *note*.

[3] *Cf. ante*, p. 55.

And seuen versts beneath, vpon an Island called *Tsaritsna*,[1] the Emperour of Russia hath fiftie gunners all the summer time to keepe watch, called by the Tartar name *Carawool*. Betweene this place and *Astracan* are fiue other *Carawools*,[2] or watches.

1. The first is named *Kamenie Carawool*, and is distant from *Perauoloke* 120. versts.

2. The second, named *Stupino Carawool*, distant from the first 50. versts.

3. The third, called *Polooy Carawool*, is 120. versts distant from the second.

4. The fourth, named *Keezyur Carawool*, is 50 versts distant from the third.

5. The fift, named *Ichkeebre*, is 30. versts distant from the fourth, and from *Ichkebre* to *Astracan* is 30. versts.

Astracan. The 16. of October they arriued at *Astracan* with theyr three stroogs in safetie, about nine of the clocke in the morning, where they found the shippe prouided for the Persia voyage in good order and readinesse. The 17. day the foure principall factors of the company, *Arthur Edwards*, *William Turnbull*, *Matthew Talboys*, Peter Garrard. and *Peter Garrard*, were inuited to dine with the chi[e]fe diake, or secretarie, of *Astracan* (*Vasilie Pheodorouich Shelepin*), who declared then vnto them the troubles that were in Media and Persia, and how the Turke, with helpe of the *Crims*, had conquered and did possesse the greatest part of Media. Also he laid before them that winter was at hand, and yf they should put out with theyr shippe to the sea, they should be constrayned to take what hazards might happen them by wintring in the parts of Media or els where, for backe againe to that place there was no hope for them to atchieue. Wherupon the said factors deter-

[1] On reference to a large scale map, such as the French one often quoted, it will be seen that a little way below the modern town of Tsaritsin there is indeed a large island in the Volga, completely corroborating the text.

[2] The names of the five watches, or guard stations, in the text may be identified on the French map of Russia, though any importance they may have once possessed has long since passed away.

mined to stay there[1] all winter, to learne further of the state of those countries.

The 19. of Nouember, the winde being northerly, there was a great frost and much ice in the riuer; the next day, being the 20. of Nouember, the ice stood in the riuer, and so continued vntill Easter day. Ice at Astracan for foure moneths.

The 22. of December departed this life *Iohn Moore*, the gunner of the shippe.

Thursday, the seuenth of Ianuarie, betweene eight & nine of the clocke at night, there appeared a crosse proceeding from the moone, with two galles at the South and North end thereof. Anno 1580.

The sixt of Ianuary, being Twelfe day (which they call *Chreshenia*) the Russes of *Astracan* brake a hole in the ice vpon the riuer *Volga*, and hallowed the water with great solemnity, according to the maner of theyr countrey; at which time all the souldiors of the towne shotte off theyr small pieces vpon the ice, and likewise (to gratifie the captaine of the castle, being a duke, whose name is *Pheodore Michalouich Troiocouria*, who stood hard by the shippe, beholding them as they were on the riuer) was shot off all the ordinance of our shippe, being fifteene pieces, viz., two faulcons,[2] two faulconets, foure fowlers, foure fowlers chambers, and three other small pieces made for the strooges to shoot hailestones;[3] and afterwards the great ordinance of the castle was shot off.

On the 31. of Ianuary there happened a greate eclipse of the moone, which began about twelue of the clocke at night, and continued before she was cleare an houre and a halfe, by estimation, which ended the first of February, about halfe an houre past one in the morning. She was wholly darkened by the space of halfe an houre.

The 26. of Februarv the towne of *Nagay Tartars*, called the *Yourt*, which is within three quarters of a mile of the castle of *Astracan*, by casualtie was set on fire about ten of the clocke at

[1] *I.e.*, at Astrakhan.
[2] A kind of cannon named after the bird.
[3] What we now term grapeshot.

night, & continued burning till midnight, whereby one halfe of it was burnt and much cattell destroyed. The *Nagayes* that inhabit that towne are the Emperour of Russia his vassals. It is supposed there are of them inhabiting that place, of men, women, and children, the number of seuen thousand. That night the *Allarum* was made in the castle and town of *Astracan*. The captaine thereof had all his souldiors in very good order and readinesse, being of them in number two thousand gunners and cassaks ; that is to say, a thousand gunners which are accounted meere souldiours,[1] and are not put to any other seruice then the vse of theyr pieces, watch, &c., as souldiors which alwayes keepe the castle, and the cassaks, also vsing theyr pieces, do keepe the towne, and are commonly set to all kinde of labors.

The seuenth of March 1589. the *Nagayes* and *Crims* came before *Astracan* to the number of one thousand foure hundred horsemen, which incamped round about ; but the neerest of them were two Russe versts and a halfe off from the castle and towne. Some of them lay on the *Crims* side of *Volga*, and some on the *Nagay* side, but none of them came vpon the Island that *Astracan* standeth on. It was sayd that two of the prince of the *Crims*[2] his sonnes were amongst them. They sent a messenger on the eight day to the captaine of *Astracan*, to signifie that they would come and visit him ; who answered he was ready to receiue them, and taking a great shotte or bullet in his hand, willed the messenger to tell them that they should not want of that geare so long as it would last. The ninth day newes was brought that the *Crims* determined to assault the towne or castle, and were making of fagots of reede to bring with them for that purpose. The tenth day two Russes that were captiues, and two of the Tartars bondmen, ranne away from the *Nagayes*, and came into *Astracan*. The same day word was brought to the duke of two *Nagayes* which were seene at *Gostine* house, supposed to be spies, but were gone againe from thence before they were suspected.

Astracan situate vpon an Island.

[1] Disciplined soldiers, called "strelitsi" (the "gunners" of the text), were first introduced in Russia by Ivan IV.

[2] Muhammed Girai Khan was chief of the Krim Tartars at this period.

This *Gostine* house[1] is a place a little without the towne where the Tisiks (or Persian merchants) do usually remaine with theyr merchandize. The 11. day the sayd *Nagayes*, and one more with them, came agayne to that house earely in the morning, where they were taken by the Russes and brought to the captayne of the castle; and being examined, confessed that theyr comming was onely to seeke two of theyr bondmen that were runne from them. Whereupon theyr bondmen were deliuered to them (which fauor the sayd captaine commonly sheweth if they be not Russes), and they were set at liberty. The 13. day they brake vp theyr camps and marched to the northwards, into the countrey of *Nagay*.

The variation of the compas in Astracan was 13. deg. 40. minuts.

The 17. of Aprill the variation of the compasse obserued in *Astracan* was 13. deg. 40. min. from North to West. This spring there came newes to *Astracan* that ye queene of Persia[2] (the king

[1] *Gostine* house. Astracan, like every other Russian town, has its *Gostinny dvor*, or guests' courtyard, generally a row of one-storeyed shops, built in the form of a square. The Persian shops at Astrakhan are the best in the place.

[2] The text refers to the expedition of Hamza Mirza, eldest son of Shah Khudabend (the blind). This young prince obtained his father's consent to attack the Turks, who had taken possession of Media, or Shirvan, in 1578. He left Kazvin at the head of 12,000 Persian troops, accompanied by his mother, the Begum (the "Queen" of the text). On his way towards Shirvan he heard of an invasion of Tartars from the Black Sea, who were making a diversion in favour of the Turks. Notwithstanding this news, Hamza pressed forward to Eres, which he surprised, capturing 200 pieces of artillery. Following up this success, he advanced on Shemakha, leaving his mother at Eres. Coming suddenly on the Tartar camp, he attacked and completely routed it, taking prisoner Abdil (Adil) Ghirai, the Tartar chief, whom he sent to Kazvin. On arriving before Shemakha, Hamza Mirza found this city held by Osman Pasha, who managed, however, by a ruse to escape, and make his way to Derbend, where, as we shall presently see, he received Burrough and his party. The young Tartar chief, Abdil Ghirai, made so favourable an impression at the Persian court, and especially on the Begum, that the latter fell in love with him, while the unsuspecting Shah, her husband, in proof of his admiration, wished to make him his son-in-law. But the sultans of Kazvin not liking this, murdered their captive, in true Persian fashion, in the most brutal manner, while his royal mistress expiated her indiscretions with

being blinde) had beene with a great armie against the Turks that were left to possesse Media, and had giuen them a great ouerthrow; yet notwithstanding, *Derbent* and a great part of Media were still possessed by the Turks. The factors of the company, consulting vpon their affayres, determined to leaue at *Astracan* the one halfe of their goods with *Arthur Edwards;* and with the other halfe the other three factors would proceed in the ship on theyr purposed voyage to the coast of Media, to see what might be done there; where, if they could not finde safe traffike, they determined to proceed to the coast of *Gillan*, which is an Island in the Caspian sea bordering vpon Persia,[1] and therupon appointed the said goods to be laden aboord the shippe, and tooke into her also some merchandize of *Tisiks*, or Persian merchants.

The 29. of Aprill *Amos Riall* and *Anthony Marsh*,[2] the companies seruants, were sent from *Astracan* by the said factors up the riuer *Volga* to *Yeraslaue*, with letters of aduise to be sent for England, and had order for staying the goods in Russia that should come that yeere out of England, for mainteining the trade purposed for Persia, vntill furthur triall were made what might be done in those parts.

The first day of May, in the morning, hauing the shippe in readinesse to depart, the factors inuited the duke *Pheodore Micalouich Troiocoorow* and the principall secretary, *Vasilie Pheodoro-*

her life. The Georgian chronicle gives a somewhat different account of this affair. According to this, the Begum, on her way back to Kazvin, was seized and killed, while the Khan of the Tartars perished by order of Shah Khuda Bend. The name of this energetic queen, according to a MS. (the *Alam Arai Abbasi*, the most authentic history of the Safavi dynasty) at the B. M., was *Khairu'n Nisá Khánum* (the good among women); in another (the *Zínatu't-Tawáríkh*) she is mentioned as *Fakhru'n-Nisá* (the boast of women), both authorities agreeing, however, in the statement that she was the daughter of Mír Abdúlláh, Prince of Mazanderán.—*Cf. Hist. de Géorgie*, Brosset, pt. ii, 1*re livr.*, p. 37; *Knolles*, pp. 940-942; *Howorth*, pt. ii, p. 15.

[1] Ghilan is no island, but part of the mainland.—See p. 381.

[2] Anthony Marsh, a connection by marriage of Jenkinson, whose wife was Judith Marsh. Marsh afterwards got into trouble, and became mixed up in Jerome Horsey's discreditable affairs.

uich Shelepin, with other of the chiefest about the duke, to a banket aboord the ship, where they were interteined to theyr good liking; and at theyr departure was shot off all the ordinance of the ship. And about nine of the clocke at night the same day they weyed anker, and departed with theyr ship from *Astracan*, and being but little winde, towed her with the boat about three versts and then ankered, hauing with them a *pauos*, or lighter, to helpe them at the flats. The second day, at foure of the clocke in the morning, they weyed, & plyed downe the riuer *Volga* toward the *Caspian* sea. The seuenth of May, in the morning, they passed by a tree that standeth on the left hand of the riuer as they went downe, which is called *Mahomet Agatch*, or Mahomets tree; and about three versts further, that is to say, to the Southwards of the said tree, is a place called *Vchoog*, that is to say, the Russe weare (but *Ochoog* is the name of weare in the Tartar tongue[1]), where are certain cotages; and the Emperour hath lying at that place certaine gunners to gard his fishermen that keepe the weare. This *Vchoog* is counted from *Astracan* 60. versts. They proceeded downe the said riuer without staying at the *Vchoog*. The ninth and tenth dayes they met with shoald water, and were forced to lighten theyr shippe by the *pauos*. The 11. day they sent backe to the *Vchoog* for an other *pauos*. This day, by mischance, the shippe was bilged on the grapnell of the *pauos*, whereby the company had sustained great losses if the chiefest part of theyr goodes had not beene layed into the *pauos;* for, notwithstanding theyr pumping with three pomps, heauing out water with buckets, and all the best shifts they could make, the shippe was halfe full of water ere the leake could be found and stopt. The 12. day the *pauos* came to them from the *Vchoog*, whereby they lighted the shippe of all the goods. The 13. day, in the morning, there came to them a small boat, sent by the captaine of *Astracan*, to learne whether the shippe were at sea cleere off the

[1] Uchug is a Tartar word, signifying a weir for taking fish. It consisted of a row of stakes driven upright into the channel of a river, strengthened by others planted slanting-wise. In this fence were openings to admit the fish. There were several of these weirs near Astrakhan.

flats. The 15. day, by great industrie and trauell, they got theyr shippe cleare off the shoales and flats, wherewith they had beene troubled from the ninth day vntill then; they were forced to passe theyr shippe in three foot water or lesse. The 16. day they came to the *Chetera Bowgeri*,[1] or Island of Foure Hillocks, which are counted fortie versts from *Vchoog*, and are the furthest land towards the sea. The 17. day they bare off into the sea, and being about twelue versts from the Foure hillocks, riding in fiue foot and a halfe water, about eleuen of the clocke in the forenoone they tooke theyr goods out of the *pauoses* into the shippe, and filled theyr shippe with all things necessary. The 18. day, in the morning, about seuen of the clocke, the *pauoses* being discharged, departed away toward *Astracan;* the wind then at Southeast, they road still with the shippe, and obseruing the eleuation of the pole at that place, found it to be 45. degrees 20. minuts. The 19. day, the winde Southeast, they road still. The 20. day, the winde at Northwest, they set saile about one of the clocke in the morning, and stered thence South by West and South southwest about three leagues, and then ankered in sixe and a halfe water, about nine of the clocke before noone, at which time it fell calme; the eleuation of the pole at that place, 45. degrees 13. minuts. The 21., hauing the winde at Northwest, they set saile and stered thence South by West and South vntil eleuen of the clocke, and had then nine foote water; and at noone they obserued the latitude, and found it to be 44. degrees 47. minuts; then had they three fathoms and a halfe water, being cleare off the flats. It is counted from the Foure hillocks to the sea about fiftie versts. From the said noone tide vntill foure of the clocke they sayled South by East fiue leagues and a halfe; then they had fiue fathoms and a halfe, and brackish water. From that till twelue at night they sayled South by East halfe a league, East tenne leagues; then had they eleuen fathome, and the water salter. From that till the 22. day, three of the clocke in the morning, they sayled three & fiftie leagues; then had they sixtene fathome water. From thence they sayled vntil noone South and by West seuen leagues and a halfe, the latitude then obserued, 43. degrees 15. minuts, the depth then,

The Caspian sea.

45. degrees 20. minuts. The first obseruation in the Caspian sea.

Brackish water farre within the sea.

43. degrees 15. minuts.

[1] *Cf. ante*, p. 127.

eight and twentie fathoms, and shallow ground. From that vntill eight of the clocke at night they sayled South by East fiue leagues and a halfe; then had they three and fortie fathoms, shallow ground. From thence till the 23., foure a clocke in the morning, they sailed South southwest three leagues and a halfe; then could they get no ground in two and fiftie fathoms deepe. From thence vntill noone they sailed South nine leagues; then the latitude obserued was 42. degrees 24. minuts. From that till the 24. day at noone they sayled South by West seuenteene leagues and a halfe; then the latitude obserued was 41. degrees 32. minuts. From noone till seuen of the clocke at night they sailed South southwest foure leagues; then had they perfect sight of high land or hilles, which were almost couered with snowe, and the mids of them were West from the shippe;[1] being then about twelue leagues from the neerest land, they sounded, but could finde no ground in two hundred fathoms. From thence they sailed Southwest vntill midnight, about three leagues; from thence, till the 25. day, foure of the clocke in the morning, they sailed West three leagues; being then little winde and neere the land, they tooke in theyr sayles and lay hulling.[2] At noone the latitude obserued was 40. degrees 54. minuts; they sounded, but could get no ground in two hundred fathoms. At foure of the clocke in the afternoone, the wind Northwest, they set theyr sayles, and from thence till the 26. day at noone they sailed East southeast foure leagues. From thence they sailed till eight of the clocke at night Southwest three leagues, the winde then at North. From thence they sailed vntill the 27. day, two of the clocke in the morning, West southwest eight leagues, the winde blowing at North very much. From the said two till foure of the clocke they sayled South by West one league; then being day light, they saw the land playne, which was not past three leagues from them, being very high, ragged land. There were certaine

41. degrees 32. minuts.

[1] *I.e.*, they had a view of the main range of the Caucasus, which presents an imposing sight when seen from the Caspian.

[2] To hull, to drive to and fro, without rudder, sail, or oar. "He looked, and saw the ark *hull* on the flood."—*Milton.* Smyth's *Sailor's Word Book.*

rocks that lay farre off into the sea, about fiue leagues from the same land (which are called *Barmake Tash*[1]); they sayled betweene those rocks and the land, and about fiue of the clocke they passed
Bilbill. by the port *Bilbill*,[2] where they should haue put in, but could not; and bearing longst the shoare, about two of the clocke afternoone they came to *Bildigh*,[3] in the countrey of *Media*, or *Sheruan*, against which place they ankered in nine foot water. Presently, after they were at anker, there came aboord of them a boat, wherein were seuen or eight persons—two Turks, the rest Persians, the Turks vassals—which bade them welcome, and seemed to be glad of theyr arriuall, who tolde the factors that the Turke had conquered all *Media*, or the countrey *Sheruan*, and how that the Turks *Basha* remayned in *Derbent* with a garrison of Turks, and that *Shamackie* was whollie spoyled, and had few or no inhabitants left in it.[4] The factours then being desirous to come to the speech of the *Basha*, sent one of the *Tisiks* (or merchants that went ouer with them from *Astracan*, passingers) and one of the companyes seruants, *Robert Golding*, with those souldiours to the captaine of
Bachu port. *Backow*, which place standeth hard by the sea, to certifie him of their arriuall, and what commodities they had brought, and to

[1] So called after Mt. Besh Barmak, which rises two miles from the shore to a height of 1,935 ft. Besh Barmak means "the five fingers", from the five distinct peaks which formerly stood in a row along its crest. The rocks, three in number, seen by Burroughs, are marked on Ivashintsef's charts much nearer the shore than Burroughs says. They only stand 15 ft. above water, and are hardly visible except from a height; hence they are omitted on old maps of the Caspian, and even on some modern ones, having been often confounded with the Two Brothers, two rocks farther down the coast. —Puschin, *Kaspiiskoye more*, 1877, p. 86.

[2] *Cf. ante*, p. 407.

[3] *Bildigh.* Bilginski bay, not named on old maps, on the northern coast of the peninsula of Apsheron, may be identified as the landing place of Christopher Burroughs. Baku would be reached in about a day by the high road to this town, passing near the bay. Like other roadsteads along this coast, Bilginski bay is much exposed to winds from the North and East.—*Semeonof*, art. "Bilginskaya".

[4] Shemakha was destroyed in 1578 by the Persian prince, Hamza Mirza, as a punishment to the inhabitants for submitting to the Turks.—*Cf. ante*, p. 447.

desire friendshippe to haue quiet and safe traffike for the same. *Backow* is from *Bildih*, the place where they road, about a dayes iourney one foote, easily to be trauelled, which may be sixe leagues the next [nearest] way ouer land; it is a walled towne, and strongly fortified. When the sayd messenger came to the captaine of *Backowe*, the said captaine gaue him very friendly intertainement; and after he vnderstood what they were that were come in the shippe, and what they had brought, he seemed to reioyce much thereat; who gaue the sayd *Golding* licence to depart backe the next day, being the eight and twentith day, and promised that he would himselfe come to the shippe the next day following; with which answere the sayd *Golding* returned, and came to the shippe the sayd eight and twentith day, about nine of the clocke at night. The nine and twentith day, in the morning, the factours caused a tent to be set vp at shoare neere the shippe, agaynst the coming of the sayde captayne, who came thither about three of the clocke after noone, and brought about thirtie souldiours, that attended on him in shirts of male [mail]; and some of them had gauntlets of siluer, others of steele, and very fayre. The factours met him at theyr tent, and after very friendly salutations passed betweene them, they gaue him for a present a garment of cloth of veluet and another of scarlet, who accepted the same gratefullie. After they had talked together by theyr interpretours, as well of the state of the voyage and cause of theyr comming thither, as also learned of the sayde captaine the state of that countrey, the factours made request vnto him that he woulde helpe them to the speeche of the *Basha*, who answered that theyr demaund was reasonable, and that hee woulde willingly shew them therein what pleasure he could, and sayd, because the way to *Derbent*, where the *Basha* remayned, was dangerous, he would send thither and certifie him of theyr arriuall and what commodities they had brought, and such commodities as they would desire to exchange or barter the same for he would procure the said *Basha* to prouide for them; and therefore willed the factors to consult together and certifie him what they most desired, and what quantitie they would haue prouided. So, whilest the factors were consulting togither thereupon, the captaine talked with a Tisike merchant

that came ouer in the ship with them from *Astracan*, which Tisike, among other matters in talke, certified the captaine that the night before the factors and theyr company were determined to haue returned backe againe to *Astracan*, and they were about to way theyr ankers, which in deed was true, but the maister of the barke, *Thomas Hudson* of Limehouse, persuaded them that the winde was not good for them to depart, &c. When the factors came againe to talke with the captaine, they desired to go to the *Basha*, and that he would safely conduct them thither. He granted theyr requests willingly, desiring them to goe with him to a village hard by, and there to abide with him that night, and the next day they should go to *Backow*, and from thence proceed on their iourney to *Derbent*. They were vnwilling to go that night with him, because theyr prouision for the way was not in readinesse, but requested that they might stay till the morning. Thereupon the captaine sayd it was reported vnto him that they ment the night before to haue gone away; and if it should so happen, he were in great danger of loosing his head. For which cause he requested to haue some one for a pledge; wherefore Master *Garrard*, one of the factours, offered himselfe to go, who because he could not speak the Russe tongue, tooke with him *Christopher Burrough* and a Russe interpretour. That night they road from the sea side to a village about ten miles off, where at supper time the captaine had muche talke with Master *Garrard* of our countrey, demanding where about it did lie, what countries were neere vnto it, and with whom we had traffike, for by the Russe name of our countrey he could not coniecture who we should be. But when, by the situation, he perceiued we were Englishmen, he demanded if our Prince were a mayden Queene. Which, when he was certefied of, then (quoth he) your land is called *Engleterra*, is it not? Answere was made it was so; whereof he was very glad when he knew the certainty. He made very much of them, placing Master *Garrard* next to himselfe, and *Christopher Burrough*, with the Russe interperetour for the Turkie tongue, hard by. There was a Gillan merchant[1] with him at that present, of whome he seemed to

Thom. Hudson of Limehouse, master of the English barke.

M. Christoph. Burrough.

[1] *I.e.*, a merchant of Ghilan.

make great account; him he placed next to himselfe on the other side, and his gentlemen sate round about him talking together. Theyr sitting is vpon the heeles, or crosse legged.

Supper being brought in, he requested them to eat. After theyr potage (which was made of rice) was done, and likewise theyr boyled meat, there came in platters of rice sodden thicke, and hony mingled withall; after all which came a sheep rosted whole, which was brought in a tray and set before the captaine. He called one of his seruitours, who cut it in pieces, and laying therof vpon diuers platters, set the same before the captaine; then the captaine gaue to Master *Garrard* and his company one platter, and to his gentlemen another, and to them which could not well reach he cast meat from the platters which were before him. Diuers questions he had with Master *Garrard* and *Christopher Burrough* at supper time about their diet, inquiring whether they eat fish or flesh voluntarily or by order. Theyr drinke in those parts is nothing but water. After supper (walking in the garden) the captaine demanded of Master *Garrard* whether the vse was in England to lie in the house or in the garden, and which he had best liking of. He answered, where it pleased him, but theyr vse was to lye in houses; thereupon the captaine caused beds to be sent into the house for them, and caused his kinsman to attend on them in the night, if they chanced to want anything; he himselfe, with his gentlemen and souldiors, lying in the garden.

In the morning very early he sent horse for the rest of the company which should go to *Derbent*, sending by them that went tenne sheepe for the shippe. In that village there was a Stoue,[1] into which the captaine went in the morning, requesting Master *Garrard* to go also to the same, to wash himselfe, which he did. Shortly after theyr comming out of the Stoue, whilest they were at breakfast, Master *Turnbull*, Master *Taylboyes*, and *Thomas Hudson*, the master of the shippe, came thither; and when they had all broken theyr fasts, they went to *Backow*. But *Christopher Burrough* returned to the ship, for that he had hurt his leg, and could not well endure that

[1] *I.e.*, a hot bath.

trauell. And from *Backow* they proceeded towards *Derbent*, as it was by the captaine promised, being accompanyed on theyr way for theyr safe conduct with a gentleman and certaine souldiors, which had the captaine of *Backow* his letters to the *Basha* of *Derbent*, very friendly written in theyr behalfe. In theyr iourney to *Derbent* they forsooke the ordinary wayes, being very dangerous, and trauelled thorow woods till they came almost to the towne of *Derbent;* and then the gentleman road before with the captaines letters to the *Basha*, to certifie him of the English merchants comming; who, receiuing the letters and vnderstanding the matter, was very glad of the newes, and sent forth to receiue them certain souldiors, gunners, who met them about two miles out of the towne, saluting them with great reuerence, and afterwardes road before them. Then again met them other souldiours, somewhat neerer the castle, which likewise hauing done their salutations, road before them; and then came forth noble men, captaines, and gentlemen to receiue them into the castle and towne. As they entred the castle there was a shot of twentie pieces of great ordinance, and the *Basha* sent Master *Turnbull* a very fayre horse with furniture to mount on, esteemed to be worth an hundred markes; and so they were conueyed to his presence; who, after he had talked with them, sent for a coate of cloth of golde and caused it to be put on Master *Turnbulles* backe, and then willed them all to depart and take theyr ease, for that they were wearie of theyr iourney, and on the morrow he would talke further with them. The next day, when the factors came againe to the presence of the *Basha*, according to his appointment, they requested him that he would grant them his priuilege, whereby they might traffike safely in any part and place of his countrey, offering him that if it pleased his Maiesty to haue any of the commodities that they had brought, and to write his minde thereof to the captaine of *Backow*, it should be deliuered him accordingly. The *Bashaes* answer was that he would willingly giue them his priuilege; yet for that he regarded theyr safetie, hauing come so farre, and knowing the state of his country to be troublesome, he would haue them to bring theyr commodity thither, & there to make sale of it, promising he would prouide such com-

modities as they needed, and that he would be a defence vnto them so that they should not be iniured by any. Whereupon the factors sent *Thomas Hudson* backe for the ship, to bring her to *Derbent*, and the *Basha* sent a gentleman with him to the captaine of *Backow*, to certifie him what was determined; which message being done, the captaine of *Backow* and the *Bashaes* messenger, accompanied with a doozen souldiours, went from *Backow* with *Thomas Hudson*, and came to the ship at *Bildih* the 11. day of Iune. After the captaine and his men had beene aboord and seene the ship, they all departed presently; but the gentleman, messenger from the *Basha*, with three other Turks, remained aboord, and continued in the shippe till she came to *Derbent*. The latitude of *Bildih* by diuers obseruations is 40. degrees 25. minuts; the variation of the compasse, 10. degrees 40. minuts from North to West. After the returne of *Thomas Hudson* backe to *Bildih*, they were constrayned to remayne there with the shippe through contrary windes vntill the 16. day of Iune, foure of the clocke in the morning, at which time they weyed anker, set saile, and departed thence towardes *Derbent*, and arriued at anker against *Derbent*, East and by South from the sayd castle, in foure fathome and a halfe water, the 22. day of Iune, at ten of the clocke in the morning. Then they tooke vp their ordinance, which before they had stowed in holde for easing the shippe in her rowling. In the afternoone the *Basha* came downe to the water side against the shippe, and hauing the said ordinance placed and charged, it was all shotte off to gratifie him; and presently after his departure backe, he permitted the factors to come aboord the shippe. The 29. day theyr goods were vnladen and carryed to the *Bashaes* garden, where he made choyce of such things as he liked, taking for custome of euery fiue and twentie karsies, or whatsoeuer, one, or after the rate of foure for the hundred. The factours, after his choyce made, determined to send a part of the rest of the goods to *Backow*, for the speedier making sale thereof, for which cause they obteined the *Bashaes* letter to the captayne of *Backow*, written very fauourably in theyr behoofe. And thereupon was laden and sent in a small boat of that countrey in merchandize to the value (very neere) of one thousand pounds sterling; *videlicet*,

The latitude of Bildih. 40. deg. 25. min.

The variation of the compas, 10. deg. 40. min.

one hundred pieces of karsies, seuen broad clothes, two barrels of cochenelio,[1] two barrels of tinne, foure barrels of shaffe. There went with the same, of the companyes seruantes, *William Winckle*, *Robert Golding*, and *Richard Relfe*, and two Russies, whereof one was an interpretor, besides foure barkemen. They departed from *Derbent* with the sayd barke the 19. of Iuly, and arriued at *Bildih* the 25. day. Theyr passage and carriage of their goods to *Backow* was chargeable, although theyr sales when they came thither were small. They had great friendship shewed them of the captaine of *Backow*, as well for the *Bashaes* letter as also for the factours sakes who had dealt friendly with him, as before is declared. *Robert Golding*, desirous to vnderstand what might be done at *Shamakie*, which is a daies iourney from *Backow*, went thither, from whence returning, he was set on by theeues, and was shot into the knee with an arrow, who had verie hardly escaped with his life and goodes, but that by good hap he killed one of the theeues horses with his caliuer,[2] and shot a Turk thorow both cheeks with a dag.[3] On the sixt day of August, the factors being aduertised at *Derbent* that theyr ship was so rotten and weak, that it was doubtfull she would not carry them backe to *Astracan*, did therupon agree and bargen at that place with an Armenian, whose name was *Iacob*, for a barke called a Busse,[4] being of burden about 35. tunnes, which came that yeere from *Astracan*,
Zere Island. and was at that instant riding at an island called *Zere*,[5] about three or foure leagues beyond or to the Eastwardes of *Bildih*, which barke, for theyr more safety, they ment to haue with them in their returne to *Astracan*, and therupon wrote vnto *Wincoll* and the rest at *Backow* that they should receiue the same Busse, and lade in her their goods at *Bildigh*, to be returned to *Derbent*, and

[1] Cochineal.
[2] A kind of hand-gun or arquebuse.
[3] *Ante*, p. 405.
[4] *Ante*, p. 235, *note*.
[5] *Zere*, doubtless one of the numerous islands forming the archipelago of Baku, lying off the peninsula of Apsheron. The principal of these now bear Russian names, but there is a place called Ziria on modern maps, a little way inland on the south side of the peninsula.—See map of Apsheron Peninsula by Goolishambarow (in Eng. and Russ.). Tiflis, 1882.

to discharge their first boate ; which was obserued by them accordingly. When all their goods were laden aborde the saide Busse at *Bildigh*, and being readie to haue departed thence for *Derbent*, there arose a great storme, with the winde out of the sea, by force whereof the cables and halsters [hawsers] were broken, and their vessel put a shoare and broken to pieces against the rockes ; euery of them that were in her saued their liues and part of the goods. But there was a *Carobia*, or cheste, wherein were dollers and golde, which they had receiued for the commodities of the companie which they solde at *Backowe*, which at the taking out of the Busse, fell by the barkes side into the water amongst the rockes, and so was lost. The packes of cloth which they could not well take out of the Busse were also lost ; other thinges that were more portable they saued.

The 18. of August the factors receiued from the *Basha* 500. Batmans of rawe silke, parcell of the bargaine made with him, who bade them come the next day for the rest of the bargaine.

The 19. day the Factors went to the *Basha*, according to his appointment, but that day they could not speake with him ; but it was deliuered them, as from him, that they should looke and consider whether anything were due vnto him or not, which grieued the Factors ; and thereupon Master *Turnebul* answered that their heads and all that they had were at the *Bashaes* pleasure. But then it was answered there was no such matter in it ; but that they should cast vp their reckonings to see how it stood betweene them. The 20. day they cast vp their reckonings. The 21. they went to haue spoken with the *Basha*, but were denied audience.

The 22. day they heard newes by a Busse that came from *Astracan* that *Arthur Edwards* (whom the Factors left at *Astracan* with the moitie of the goods) was dead, who departed this life the of[1] Arthur Edwards dieth at Astracan.

The 23. day the Factors receiued more from the *Basha* 500. Batmans of silke. The 4. of September newes was brought to *Derbent* that *Golding*, comming from *Shammakie*, was set on by theeues (Turkes), and had hurt one of them.

[1] Blanks in *Hakluyt*.

The 5. *Tobias Atkins*, the gunners boy, died of the fluxe, who was buried the 6. day, 2. miles to the Southward of the Castle of *Derbent*, where the Armenian Christians do vsually burie their dead. About the 20. of September newes came to *Derbent* that the Busse which they had bought of *Iacob* the Armenian, as before, was cast away at *Bildih;* but they receiued no certaine newes in writing from any of our people.

The 26. of September was laden aboord the shippe 40. bales of silke. From the 26. til the 2. of October they tooke into the shippe bread, water, and other necessary prouisions for their sea store. The said 2. day of October, the Factors were commanded vpon the suddaine to auoyd their house, and get them, with their prouision, out of the towne. Whereupon they were constrained to remoue and carry their things to the sea side against the ship, and remained there all the night. The cause of this sudden auoyding them out of the towne (as afterwards they perceiued) was for that the *Basha* had receiued newes of a supplie with treasure that the Turke had sent, which was then neere at hand, comming towards him.

The 3. day of October all things were brought from the shoare aboorde the ship, and that day the Factors went to the *Basha* to take their leaue of him, vnto whom they recommended those the Companies seruants, &c., which they had sent to *Backow*, making accompt to leaue them behinde in the countrey; who caused their names to be written, and promised they should want nothing, nor be iniuried of any. After this leaue taken, the Factors went aboord, purposing presently to haue set saile, and departed towards *Astracan*, the winde seruing well for that purpose at South South-east. And as they were readie to set saile, there came against the shippe a man who weued [waved]; whereupon the boate was sent a shoare to him, who was an Armenian sent from *William Wincoll* with his writing tables,[1] wherein the saide *Wincoll* had written briefly the mishappe of the losse of the Busse, and that they were comming from *Bildih* towardes *Derbent;* they and such things as they saued, with a small boate, forced to put a shoare in a place by

[1] *I.e.*, tablets.

the sea side, called the Armenian village. Whereupon the Factors caused the shippe to stay, hoping that with the Southerly winde that then blew they would come from the place they were at to the shippe ; but if they could not come with that winde, they ment to saile with the shippe, with the next winde that would serue them, against the place where they were, and take them in if they could ; which stay and losse of those Southerly windes was a cause of great troubles that they afterwards sustained through yee, &c., entring the Volga, as shalbe declared.

The 4. day, the winde South Southeast, the shippe rode still. This day *Christopher Burrow* was sent on shore to *Derbent* to prouide some necessaries for the voyage, & with him a Tisike or two which should goe in the shippe passengers to *Astracan*. And being on shoare, he sawe there the comming in of the Turkes treasure, being accompanied with 200. souldiers and 100. pione[e]rs, besides Captaines and Gentlemen. The *Basha*, with his captaines and souldiers, very gallantly apparelled and furnished, went out from *Derbent* about three or foure miles to meete the said treasure, and receiued the same with great ioye and triumphe. Treasure was the chiefe thing they needed, for not long before the souldiers were readie to breake into the Court against the Basha for their pay. There was a great mutenie amongst them, because hee had long differred and not payed them their due. The treasure came in 7. wagons, and with it were brought 10. pieces of brasse.

The Turke. his treasure sent to Derbent.

In the parts of Media where they were, there was no commoditie to bee bought of any value but rawe silke, neither was that to bee had but at the *Bashaes* handes, who, shortly after their comming thither, taxed the countrey for that commoditie. His dealing with our Marchants, as it was not with equitie in all points according to his bargaine, so it was not extreeme ill. Of the commodities they carried, hee tooke the chiefest part, for which hee gaue but a small price in respect of the value it was there worth ; and because he had prouided such quantitie of commoditie for them, which otherwise they coulde not haue had, the countrey being so troublesome, and trauaile by land so dangerous, he vsed them at his pleasure.

The newes that was reported to them at *Astracan* touching the warres betweene the Turkes and Persians differed litle from the trueth.[1] For the Turkes armie, with ayde of the Crims (being in number, by the information of 2. Spaniards that serued in those warres, about 200,000), inuaded & conquered the countrey of Media in anno 1577. When the great Turke vnderstoode of the conquest, he appointed *Osman Basha* (the said *Basha*, and now Captaine of *Derbent*) gouernour of the whole countrey, who settled himselfe in *Shamakie*, the chiefe citie of Media and principal place of trafique; vnto whome was sent from the great Turke, in signification of the gratefull acceptation of his seruice and the great conquest, a sword of great value.

Osman Basha.

After the said *Basha* had brought the countrey in order to his liking, and placed garrisons where hee thought conuenient, the armie was dissolued and sent backe. When the Persians vnderstoode that the Turkes armie was dissolued and returned, they gathered a power together, and with the Queene[2] of their countrey as chiefe, they entred the countrey of Media, and ouerranne the same with fire and sword, destroying whatsoeuer they founde, as well people, cattell, as whatsoeuer els that might be commodious to the Turkes. And after they had so ouerrunne the countrey, they came to *Shamakie*, where the said *Basha*, Lieutenant generall of the great Turke, was settled, and besieged it; whereupon the *Basha*, seeing he coulde not long indure to withstande them, fledde thence to *Derbent*, where he now remaineth.

Derbent built by Alexander the Great.

Derbent is a strong castle, which was built by *Alexander* the Great, the situation whereof is such that the Persians, being without ordinance, are not able to winne it but by famine. When the Turkes were fled from *Shamakie*, the Persians entred the same and spoyled it, leauing therein neither liuing creature nor any commoditie, and so returned backe into *Persia*, and settled themselues about *Teueris*, where there grewe some question among them for the kingdome. Afterwards the Persians, hauing intelligence of an armie from the Turke comming into *Media*, gathered themselues together in a great armie, and encountring the saide

[1] *Cf. ante*, p. 448.

[2] *Cf. ante*, p. 447, *note*.

Turkes, set vpon them on the sudden and vanquished them, putting them all to the sworde. This ouerthrowe of the Turkes grieued the *Basha* of *Derbent*, and made him to haue the more care for his owne safetie.[1]

Moreouer, newes was brought vnto him that the *Kisel Bashaes* (that is to say, the nobles & gentlemen of Persia) were minded to set vpon him, and that neere vnto *Backow* there lay an armie readie to besiege it. Whereupon the Basha oftentimes would ride about the Castle of *Derbent*, viewing the same and the springs that did come to it, and where he saw any cause for reformation, it was amended.

The latitude of *Derbent* (by diuers obseruations exactly there made) is 41. deg. 52.[2] The variation of the compasse at that place about 11. deg. from North to West. From *Derbent* to *Bildih*, by land, 46. leagues; from *Derbent* to *Shamakie*, by land, 45. leagues; from *Shamakie* to *Backow*, about 10. leagues, which may be 30. miles; from *Backow* to *Bildih*, 5. or sixe leagues by land, but by water about 12. leagues. From the castle *Derbent* Eastwards there reache 2. stone walles[3] to the border of the *Caspian* sea, which is distant one English mile. Those walles are 9. foote thicke and 28. or 30. foote high, and the space between them is 160. geometrical paces, that is, 800. foote. There are yet to be perceiued of the ruine of those walles, which do now extend into the sea about halfe a mile. Also from the

The latitude of Derbent, 41. deg. 52. min.

[1] According to Knolles, Osman Pasha was left in charge with 10,000 men by Mustapha Pasha, the Turkish general. After the latter had left the country, the Persians took the offensive, and appeared before Shemakha, where Osman then was (see p. 447, *note*). Finding resistance, useless he fled, and made good his retreat to Derbend, the only possession left to the Turks in this country. Osman, feeling insecure at Derbend, sought the alliance of Sahamal, Lord of Brussa, whose daughter he married; and then, fearing treachery, put his father-in-law to death, making his wife accessory to the crime.—*Hist. of the Turks*, p. 941.

[2] According to modern authorities, the latitude of Derbend is 42° 4′ N.

[3] These walls are well shown on an old map of the Caspian by Van der Verden, published by Ottens in Amsterdam, 1723.—*Cf. ante*, p. 129.

Castle Westward into the land they did perceiue the ruines of a stone wall to extend, which wall, as it is reported, did passe from thence to *Pontus Euxinus*, and was built by *Alexander* the great when the castle *Derbent* was made.

The 5. of October, about noone, the winde North Northeast, they wayed ancre, and set saile from *Derbent*, being longest the coast to the Southwards, to seeke their men ; but as they had sailed about foure leagues, the winde scanted[1] Easterly, so that they were forced to ancre in three fathome water.

The 6. day they wayed ancre, and bare further off into the sea, where they ancred in 7. fathome water, the shippe being very leke, and so rotten abafte the maine maste, that a man with his nailes might scrape through her side.

The 7. day, about 7. of the clocke in the morning, they set saile, the winde Southwest. They considered the time of the yeere was farre spent, the ship weake, leke, and rotten, and therefore determining not to tary any longer for *Wincoll* and his fellowes, but to leaue them behinde, bent themselues directly towards *Astracan*, and sayling North northeast vntill midnight, about 16. leagues ; the winde then came to the North northwest, and blew much, a very storme, which caused them to take in all their sailes, sauing the fore corse,[2] with which they were forced to steere before the sea, South by West and South southwest. And on the 8. day, about 2. of the clocke in the morning, their great boate sunke at the ships sterne, which they were forced to cut from the shippe, to their great griefe and discomfort, for in her they hoped to saue their liues if the shippe shoulde haue miscaried. About 10. of the clocke before noone they had sight of the lande, about 5. leagues to the South of *Derbent*, and bare longst the coast to the South eastwards vnto *Nezauoo*,[3] where they came at ancre in 3. fathoms and black oze, good ancre holde, wherof they were glad, as also that the winde was shifted to the Northwest, and but a meane gale. *Wincoll* and the rest of his felowes being in the Armenian

[1] *I.e.*, lessened.
[2] Fore-sail.
[3] *I.e.*, Nizabad.—*Cf. ante*, p. 384.

village, which is about 18. versts to the westwards of *Nezauoo*,[1] the place where against they rode at ancre, saw the ship as she passed by that place, and sent a man in the night following alongst the coast after her, who came against the ship where she rode, and with a firebrand in the top of a tree made signes, which was perceiued by them in the shippe; wherupon they hoysed out their skiffe, and sent her a shoare to learne what was ment by the fire; which returned a letter from *Wincoll*, wherein he wrote that they were with such goods as they had at the Armenian village, and prayed that there they might, with the same goods, be taken into the shippes. The 9. day it was litle winde; they wayed and bare a litle further off into the sea, towards the said village, and ancred. The 10. day they sent their skiffe to the Armenian village to fetch those men and the goods they had, with order that if the winde serued that they could not returne to fetche the shippe, they of the shippe promised to come for them against the saide village. This day it was calme.

The 11. day, the winde Northwest, they rode still. The 12. day, the winde Southeast, they wayed ancre, and bare against and neere to the Armenian village, where they ancred; and then the skiffe came aboord, and tolde them that our people at shoare were like to be spoyled of the *Tartars*, were it not that the gunners defended them. Then was the skiffe sent backe againe, to charge them at any hand they should hasten aboorde the shippe, whatsoeuer it cost them. Wherupon all the companie came aboorde the same day, sauing *Richard Relfe* and two Russes; but as soone as the skiffe was returned aboorde the shippe, the winde blewe at Southeast, and the Sea was growen so as they were forced to take in their skiffe into the ship, and rode still till the 13. day; and then hauing faire weather, early in the morning the skiffe was hoysed out of the shippe and sent to shoare to fetch the said *Relfe* and the two Russes, which were readie at the shoare side, and with them two Spaniards that were taken captiues at the *Goletta*,[2]

[1] There are several villages near Nizovaya, or Nizabad, whose inhabitants are engaged in the silk industry, and in the cultivation of the madder root.—Puschin, *op. cit.*, p. 80.

[2] *Cf. ante*, p. 342.

Two Spaniards deliuered by our Englishmen.

in *Barbarie*, which serued the Turke as souldiers. Those Spaniards (of Christian charitie) they brought also aboord the shippe, to redeeme them from their captiuitie, which were brought ouer into England, and set free and at libertie here in London in September 1581. The winde this day at North northeast, faire weather. The 14. day they sent their skiffe to shoare, and filled fresh water. The 15. day they rode still, being little winde and fogge. The 16. day, the winde East Southeast, they wayed ancre and set saile, bearing Northwards towardes *Astracan*, and the same night they ancred in 10. fathoms water, about 5. miles from the shoare of the *Shalkaules*[1] countrey, which place is 8. leagues North northwest from *Derbent*. The 17. day, the winde at North, very Stormie, they rode stil all that day & night. The 18. the winde all South east, about one of the clocke afternoone they wayed ancre, and sailed thence til 4. of the clocke North northeast 6. leagues, then might they see the land Northwest about 10. leagues from [them], the wind Southeast. From thence they sailed til midnight North northeast 12. leagues. From thence til y_e 19. day, 7. a clocke in y^e morning, they sailed North northeast 8. leagues, the wind then East southeast, a faire gale: they sounded, and had 17. fathoms and sand, being (as the Master iudged) about the head of *Shetly*.[2] From thence till 12. of the clocke at noone they sailed North 5. leagues, the winde then at East, a faire gale: they sounded, and had 5. fadoms. From thence till 8. of the clocke at night they sailed North 7. leagues, the winde then at Northeast, with small raine; they tooke in their sailes and ancred in 3. fadoms water and soft oze, where they rode still all night, and the 20. day and night, the windeNortheast, as before, with small raine.

The 21. day, the winde Northwest, they likewise rode still. The 22. day, about 3. of the clocke in the afternoone, they wayed ancre, the winde West Northwest, and sailed from thence till sixe of the clocke at night North 4. leagues; then they ancred in 2. fathoms and a halfe, soft oze, the winde at West, a small breath.

The 23. day, about 7. of the clocke in the morning, they wayed ancre and set saile, being little winde Easterly, and sailed till 2. of the clocke after noone Northwest, in with the shoare about sixe

[1] *Cf. ante*, p. 128. [2] *Cf. ante*, p. 127.

leagues, and then ancred in 6. foote water, hauing perfect sight of the lowe lande (sande hilles), being about three miles from the neerest land. This place of the land that they were against they perceiued to be to the westwards of the foure Islands (called in the Russe tongue *Chetera Bougori*) and they founde it afterwards by due proofe to be about 50. versts, or thirtie English miles, to the Southwest or Southwest by South from the said *Chetera Bogori*.[1]

The 24. day, the winde at East and by south, a sea winde, called *Gillauat*, caused them to ride still. The 25. day they thought good to sende in their skiffe *Robert Golding*, and certaine Russes to rowe him longest Northwards by the shoare, to seeke the foure Islands, and so to passe vnto the *Vchooge*, and there to land the saide *Rob. Golding*, to proceede to *Astracan*, to deliuer *Amos Riall* a letter, wherein he was required to prouide *Pauoses* to meete the shippe at the saide Islands; and the skiffe with the Russes were appointed to returne from the *Vchooge* with victuals to the shippe; which skiffe departed from the shippe about nine of the clocke in the forenoone. The 26. 27. 28. and 29. dayes, the windes Easterly and Northeast, they roode still with their shippe. The 30. day, the winde Southeast, they wayed and set saile to the Northeastwards; but the shippe fell so on the side to the shorewards, that they were forced eftsoones to take in their sailes and ancre againe, from whence they neuer remooued her. That day they shared their bread; but in their want God sent them two couies of partridges, that came from the shoare and lighted in and about their shippes, whereby they were comforted, and one that lay sicke, of whose life was small hope, recouered his health. A strange accident of prouision for their reliefe.

The 4. of Nouember the skiffe returned to the shippe with some victuals, and certified that the 4. Islands were about 60. versts from them to the Northeastwards. When *Robert Golding* came to *Astracan*, and deliuered there the Factors letters to *Amos Riall*, the duke, captaine of that place, was done to vnderstand[2] of the ships arriual and of the state they were in, and their request for *Pauoses;* who was very glad to heare of their safe returne, and appointed to be sent with all speede 2. *Pauoses* and a *Strooge*, Nouember.

[1] *Cf. ante*, pp. 127, 450.

[2] Like the French idiom, *faire comprendre*.

with gunners to garde and to defende them. With the which *Strooge* and *Pauoses*, *Amos Riall* went down to the *Chetera Bougori*, or 4. Islands aforesaid, where hee stayed with those barks, according to the Factors appointment. The 5. day they purposed to send from the shippe their skiffe, with the carpenter and 4. Russes to towe him to the 4. *Bowgories*, to request *Amos Riall* to come from thence with the *Pauoses* to the ship with al possible speed. The skiffe with those men departed from the ship in the morning, and within one houre they met with a small boat with Russes rowing towards the ship, which came from the *Ouchooge* with a wilde swine and other victuals to sell; with the same boate the skiffe returned backe to the ship. After the Russes had receiued and were satisfied for the victuals they brought, the same day they returned with their boate backe toward the *Ouchooge*, and with them in the same boate was sent the carpenter of the ship, to the *Chetera Bougori*, which were in their way, to declare vnto *Amos Riall* the message before appointed him. From the 5. vntill the 9. day the ship rode still, with contrary winds Easterly. The same 9. day came to the ship certaine Russes in a small boate, which brought with them some victuals sent by *Amos Riall*, and declared that hee, with the *Pauoses* and *Stroog*, had remained at the *Chetera Boogori* 5. days, expecting the comming thither of the ship. The 10. day, being doubtfull of the *Pauoses* comming, they sent *Thomas Hudson*, master of the ship, in the skiffe (and with her went the aforesaid skiffe boat) towards the *Chetera Boogori* to the *Pauoses*, to bring word whether they would come to the ship or not; the winde then at Northeast, with fogge. The 11. day, the winde Northerly with fogge, the ship rode still. The 12. day, *Amos Riall*, *Christopher Fawcet*, and a new gunner came to the ship, and with them the Master, *Thomas Hudson*, returned; but the *Strooge*, with the gunners, remained at the *Chetera Boogori*, and from thence (when it began to freese) returned to *Astracan*. *Amos Riall* declared that he sent the carpenter backe from the *Chetera Boogori* in a small boate on the 10. day, and marueiled that he was not come to the shippe, but in the fogge the day before (as afterwards they learned) missed the shippe and overshot her, and afterwards

returning backe, hee found the ship at ancre, and nothing in her but the Russes that were left to keepe her, and then hee departed thence and went to the *Vchooge*, and there stayed. Presently, vpon the coming of the *Pauoses* to the shippe, they vsed as much speede as might be to get the goods out of the shippe into them, and after the goods were laden in, they tooke in also of the ships Ordinance, furniture, and prouision as much as they could.

The 13. day in the morning, *Amos Riall* was sent away in a small boate towards *Astracan*, to prouide victuals and carriages to relieue and helpe them who could passe no further then the foure Islands; but was there ouertaken with yce and forced to leaue his boate, and from thence passed poste to *Astracan*, finding at the *Vchooge* the Carpenter returned from his ill iourney, very ill handled with the extremitie of the colde. The same day they departed also in those lighters with the goods towards the *Chetera Boogori*, leauing the shippe at ancre, and in her two Russes, which, with three more that went in the *Pauoses* to prouide victuals for themselues and the rest, and therewith promised to returne backe to the shippe with all speede, had offered to vndertake, for twentie rubbles in money, to carry the shippe into some harborowe, where shee might safely winter, or els to keepe her where shee rode all winter—which was promised to be giuen them if they did it. And the same day, when with those lighters they had gotten sight of the 4. Islands, being about eight versts South-west from them, the winde then at Northeast did freeze the sea so as they could not rowe, guide, stirre, or remooue the said lighters, but as the wind and yce did force them. And so they continued driuing with the yce Southeast into the sea by the space of fourtie houres, and then, being the sixteene day, the yce stoode. Whiles they droue with the yce, the dangers which they incurred were great, for oftentimes when the yce with the force of winde and sea did breake, pieces of it were tossed and driuen one vpon another with great force, terrible to beholde, and the same happened at sometimes so neere vnto the lighters, that they expected it woulde haue ouerwhelmed them, to their vtter destruction; but God, who had preserued them from many perils before, did also saue and deliuer them then.

Within three or foure dayes after the first standing of the yce, when it was firme and strong, they tooke out all their goods, being fourtie and eight bales or packes of rawe silke, &c., layde it on the yce, and couered the same with such prouisions as they had. Then, for want of victuals, &c., they agreed to leaue all the goods there vpon the yce, and to goe to the shoare; and thereupon brake vp their chests and *Corobias*, wherewith, and with such other things as they coulde gette, they made sleds for euery of them to drawe vpon the yce, whereon they layde their clothes to keepe them warme, and such victuals as they had, and such other thinges as they might conueniently carry; and so they departed from the saide goods and *Pauoses* very early, about one of the clocke in the morning, and trauayling on the yce, directed their way North, as neere as they could iudge; and the same day, about two of the clocke in the after noone, they had sight of the *Chetera Babbas* (foure hillockes of Islands so called), vnto the same they directed themselues, and there remained that night.

Chetera Babas.

The goods and *Pauoses* which they left on the yce they iudged to be from those *Cheter Babas* about 20. versts.

And the next morning departed thence Eastwardes, and came to the *Chetera Bougories* (or foure Islands before spoken of) before noone (the distance betweene those places is about fifteene verstes), where they remained all that night, departing thence towards *Astracan*. The next morning very earely they lost their way, through the perswasion of the Russes which were with them, taking to[o] much towardes the left hande (contrary to the opinion of Master *Hudson*). Whereby, wandering vpon the yce foure or fiue days, not knowing whether they were entred into the *Crimme* Tartars lande or not, at length it fortuned they mette with a way that had bene trauailed, which croste backewardes towardes the Sea, that way they tooke, and following the same, within two dayes trauaile it brought them to a place called the *Crasnoyare* (that is to say in the English tongue), redde cliffe, which diuers of the companie knewe. There they remayned that night, hauing nothing to eate but one loafe of bread, which they happened to finde with the two Russes that were left in the shippe to keepe her all the winter (as is aforesaide), whom they chaunced to meete

going towards *Astracan*, about fiue miles before they came to the said *Crasnoyare*, who certified them that the shippe was cut in pieces with the yce, and that they had hard scaping with their liues.

In the morning they departed early from *Crasnoyare* towardes the *Ouchooge*, and about 9. of the clock before noone, being within 10. versts of the *Vchooge*, they mette *Amos Riall* with the carpenter, which he founde at *Ouchooge*, and a gunner newly come out of Englande, and also sixtie and fiue horses with so many *Cassacks* to guide them, and 50. gunners for garde, which brought prouision of victuals, &c., and were sent by the Duke to fetche the goods to *Astracan*. The meeting of that company was much ioy vnto them.

The Factors sent backe with *Amos Riall* and the saide companie to fetche the goods, *Thomas Hudson*, the master, *Tobias Paris*, his mate; and so they, the saide Factors and their company, marched on to the *Vchooge*, where they refreshed themselues that day and the night following, and from thence proceeded on towards *Astracan*, where they arriued the last day of Nouember.

These that went for the goods, after their departure from the Factors, trauailed the same day vntill they came within 10. versts of the *Chetera Babas*, where they rested that night. The next morning by the breake of the day they departed thence, and before noone were at the *Chetera Babas*, where they stayed all night. But presently departed thence *Thomas Hudson*, with the carpenter and gunner, to seeke where the goods lay, who found the same, and the next day they returned backe to their company at the *Chetera Babas*, and declared vnto them in what sort they had found the said goods. December.

The 3. day, early in the morning, they departed all from the 4. *Babas* towards the saide goods, and the same day did lade all the goods they coulde finde vpon the said sleds, and with al conuenient speede returned backe towardes *Astracan*. And when they went to the *Chetera Bougori*, where they rested the night, in the morning very early, before the breake of day, they were assaulted by a great companie of the *Nagays Tartars* horsemen, which came showting and hollowing with a great noyse, but our

people were so inuironed with the sleds, that they durst not enter vpon them, but came by and shotte their arrowes amongst them, and hurt but one man in the head who was a Russe, and so departed presently. Yet when it was day they shewed themselues a good distance off from our men, being a very great troupe of them, but did not assault them any more. The same day our men, with those cariages, departed from thence towards *Astracan*, where they arriued in safetie the 4. of December, about 3. of the clocke in the after noone, where our people greatly reioyced of their great good happe to haue escaped so many hard euents, trouble, and miseries as they did in that voyage, and had great cause, therefore, to praise the Almightie, who had so mercifully preserued and deliuered them. They remained the winter at *Astracan*, where they found great fauour and friendship of the Duke, Captaine, and other chiefe officers of the place. But that winter there happened no great matter worth the noting.

Their returne to Astracan.

In the spring of the yeere 1581. about the mids of March, the yce was broken up and cleare gone before *Astracan;* and the ninth of Aprill, hauing all the goods that were returned from the parts of *Media* laden into a *Strooge*, the Factors, *William Turnebull*, *Matthewe Taileboyes*, *Giles Crowe*, *Christopher Burrough*, *Michael Lane*, *Laurence Prouse*, gunner, *Randolfe Foxe*, *Th. Hudson*, *Tobias Parris*, *Morgan Hubblethorne*, the dier, *Ric.*, the surgean, *Rob. Golding*, *Iohn Smith*, *Edward Reding*, carpenter, and *William Perrin*, gunner; hauing also 40. Russes, whereof 36. were *Cassacks* to rowe, the rest Marchants passengers, departed from *Astracan* with the said *Strooge* and goods vp the *Volga* towards *Yeraslaue*. They left behind them at *Astracan*, with the English goods & Marchandise there remayning, *Amos Rial*, *W. Wincol*, and *Richard Relfe*, and appointed them to sell & barter the same, or so much thereof as they could, to the *Tisiks*, if there came any thither that spring, and to others as they might, & the rest, with such as they should take in exchange, to returne vp to *Yeraslaue* that summer, when the Emperours carriage should passe vp to the *Volga*. The 21. day they came with their *Strooge* to the *Perauoloke*,[1] but made no stay at that place, for

[1] *Cf. ante*, p. 55.

they had bene much troubled with yce in their coming from *Astracan.* The 3. of May, about noone, they came to *Oueke*,[1] and from thence proceeding vp the riuer, on the 17. day *William Turnebul* departed from the *Strooge* in a smal boate, and went before towardes *Tetusha*,[2] to prouide victuals and sende downe to the *Strooge*, from which place they were then about 230. versts. The 23. day they mette a boate with victuals, which *William Turnebull* sent from *Tetusha* ; and the same day they arriued with their *strooge* at *Cazan*, where they remayned till the fourth of Iune ; the Factors sent *Giles Croue* from *Cazan* to the *Mosco* with their letters the 30. of May. The fourth day of Iune they departed from *Cazan* with their *Strooge*, and arriued at *Yeraslaue* the 22. day, about 5. of the clocke in the morning.

The 23. day they prouided *Telegos*[3] to carry the goods to *Vologda.* The 24. day, hauing the goods laden vpon *Telegos*, they departed with the same towards *Vologhda*, and remained there fiue verstes from *Yeraslaue.*

The 29. day they came to *Vologhda* with all their goods in safetie and good order. The same 29. *William Turnebull* and *Peter Garrard* departed from *Vologhda* port by water towards *Colmogro.* The third of Iuly, hauing their goods laden in a small Doshenike, they departed with the same from Vologhda towards *Rose* Island by *S. Nicholas*, where they arriued in safetie the 16. of Iuly, and founde there the Agents of Russia, and in the Rode the ships sent out of England, almost laden ready to depart.

The 25. day departed for England, out of the rode of *S. Nicholas*, the shippe *Elizabeth.*

The 26. day departed thence the *Thomas Allen* and *Marie Susan*, and in the *Thomas Allen* went *William Turnbull*, *Matthew Tailboys*, *Thomas Hudson*, and others. The goods returned of the *Persia* voyage were laden into the shippe *William and Iohn*, whereof was Master *William Bigat*, and in her with the same goods came *Peter Garrard* and *Tobias Parris.*

The 11. of August, the same ship being laden and dispatched, departed from the rode of *S. Nicholas*, and with her in companie

[1] *Cf. ante*, p. 54, *note* 3, and p. 443.
[2] *Cf. ante*, p. 442.
[3] *Cf. ante*, p. 356, *note.*

another of the Companies fraighted ships, called the *Tomasin*, whereof was Master *Christopher Hal.* In their returne homewards they had some foule weather and were separated at the sea. The *William and Iohn* put into *Newcastle* the 24. of September, from whence the said *Peter Garrard* and *Tobias Parris* came to London by lande, and brought newes of the arriuall of the shippe.

The 25. of September both the said shippes arriued at the port of London in safetie, and anchored before *Limehouse* and *Wapping*, where they were discharged, 1581.

XI.

Obseruations of the latitudes and meridian altitudes of diuers places in Russia, from the North to the South, Anno 1581.

Michael Archangel.[1]	Meridian altitude obserued at *Michael* the *Archangel*, 42. degrees 30. minuts. The true latitude, 64. degrees 54. minuts.	
The English house in Colmogro.[2]	The English house in *Colmogro*, in latitude 64. d. 25. m. The meridian altitude there obserued, the 29. of Iuly, 42. d. 15. m.	
Recola[3] . .	Meridian altitude, the 30. of Iuly, 41. d. 46. m. Declination, 16. d. 6. m.	64. d. 20. m.
Yeegris[4] . .	Meridian [altitude], 4. of August, 41. d. 50. m. Declination Northerly, 14. d. 49. m.	62. d. 59. m.
Towlma[5] . .	Meridian altitude, the 15. of August, 40. d. 45. m. Declination Northerly, 11. d. 2. m.	60. d. 17. m.

[1] Archangel (*ante*, p. 190), in lat. 64° 33′ N.—Semeonof.

[2] Kholmogori (*cf. ante*, p. 100), in lat. 64° 13′ N.

[3] Rakulskoye, a village on the Dwina, 58 versts (29 miles), from Kholmogori, on the high road from Archangel to the capital. It is marked on Hessel Gerard's map of Russia, 1614, and is placed on modern maps (Arrowsmith, Kiepert) in lat. 64° N. approx.

[4] Nikolsky Jagryschskio, placed on Arrowsmith's map in lat. 62° N. approx.

[5] Totma (*ante*, p. 25), according to Semeonof, in lat. 59° 58′ N., 205

Vologhda[1]	Meridian altitude, the 20. of August, 40. d. Declination Northerly, 9. d. 17. m.	59. d. 17. m.
Vologhda	Meridian altitude, 21. of August, 39. d. 36. m. Declination, 8. d. 56. m.	59. d. 20. m.
Yereslaue[2]	Latitude by gesse, 57. d. 50. m.	
Swyaskagorod[3]	Meridian altitude, 21. of September, 31. d. Declination, 2. d. 56. m.	56. d. 4. m.
Ouslona Monasterie.[4]	Meridian altitude, 23. of September, 30. d. 26. m. Declination, 3. d. 43. m.	55. d. 51. m.
Tetuskagorod[5]	Meridian altitude, 28. September, 28. d. 28. m. Declination, 5. d. 35. m.	55. d. 22. m.

versts (137 miles) N.E. of Vologhda. Totma originally stood at the mouth of the river of the same name, tributary of the Suhona, 15 versts, or 10 miles, from its present position. In 1539 the Tartars destroyed it, when the inhabitants transferred their dwelling-places to the old *posad*, or settlement, near some salt works, and soon after that, before 1554, chose a new site, that at present occupied by the town.

[1] Vologhda (*cf. ante*, pp. 26, 27, 100), in lat. 58° 15′ N. according to Semeonof, but in Arrowsmith's and Kiepert's maps in 59° 15′ approx. This discrepancy requires explanation.

[2] Yaroslavl, according to Arrowsmith, in lat. 57° 38′ approx.

[3] Sviajsk (*ante*, p. 48), according to Arrowsmith, in lat. 55° 40′ N. approx.

[4] Uslon. There are two villages of this name, upper and lower. Both of them belonged, till 1764, to the Troitsko-Sergievo Monastery at Sviajsk, Upper Uslon. The place probably referred to in our text is 27 versts (18 miles) distant from Sviajsk, on the high road to Kazan along the Volga.

[5] Tetiushi (*ante*, p. 442), lat. 54° 57′ N. according to Semeonof; according to Arrowsmith, in lat. 54° 52′ approx. The place is marked on Gerard's map quoted above.

Oueke[1]	Meridian altitude, 5. October, 30. d. 12. m. Declination, 8. d. 18. m.	51. d. 30. m.
Astracan[2]	Meridian altitude, 22. October, 29. d. 36. m. Declination, 14. d. 16. m.	46. d. 10. m.
Astracan	Meridian altitude, 1. of November, 26. d. 35. m. Declination, 17. d. 16. m.	46. d. 9. m.

[1] Uvek (*ante*, p. 100), lat. 51° 23′ N. according to Yule.

[2] Astrakhan (*ante*, p. 100), lat. 46° 4′ N. according to Semeonof; 46° 21′ N. according to Humboldt (*Asie Centrale*, ii, p. 229).

In comparing the latitudes in our text, taken by Christopher Burroughs, with modern determinations, it should be remembered how rude were the instruments with which the early navigators worked. The astrolabe and mariner's cross staff, graduated only to degrees, were the only instruments they had for taking meridian latitudes. Compare these with the sextant of our day, or even with the quadrant introduced in 1731, and the wonder is that they should have been so near the mark. Not only were the observations taken in this rough way liable to errors, but the method of computing them was inexact. To find the declination of the sun, recourse was had to a zodiacal ephemeris, which was also graduated to degrees only, any fraction of a degree or minutes put down by the observer being mere guess work. Neither was any account taken or allowance made for dip of the horizon, refraction, or parallax. Mr. E. F. Slafter, from whose little work* we borrow these particulars, says the early latitudes are generally trustworthy to within a single degree; and this we find the case both with those of Burroughs and the still earlier observations by Jenkinson, given at page 100.

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* *History and Causes of the Incorrect Latitudes as Recorded in the Journals of the Early Writers, Navigators, and Explorers, etc.* Boston (privately printed), 1882.

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